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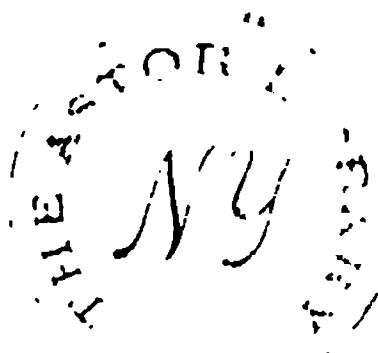
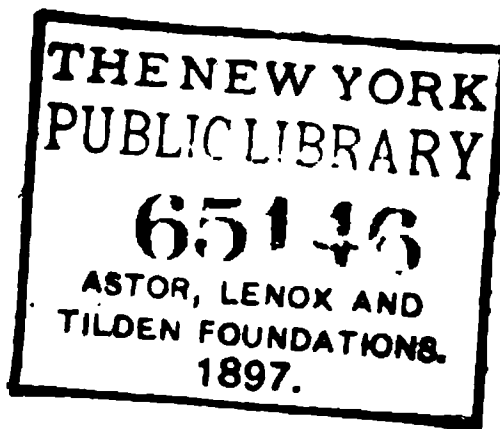
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1877.

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FREDERICK YOUNG,

Honorary Secretary.

ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE,

15, Strand, W.C.,

July, 1877.

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ERRATUM.

At page 79, line 33, for "aliquando" read "quandoque."

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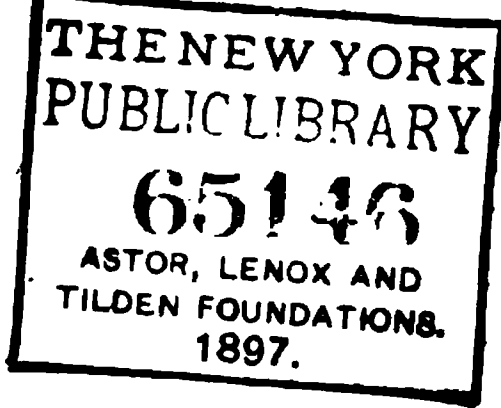
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THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

15, STRAND, LONDON.

ESTABLISHED 1863.

MOTTO—"UNITED EMPIRE."

OBJECTS.

"To provide a place of meeting for all Gentlemen connected with the Colonies and British India, and others taking an interest in Colonial and Indian affairs; to establish a Reading-room and Library, in which recent and authentic intelligence upon Colonial and Indian subjects may be constantly available, and a Museum for the collection and exhibition of Colonial and Indian productions; to facilitate interchange of experiences amongst persons representing all the Dependencies of Great Britain; to afford opportunities for the reading of Papers, and for holding Discussions upon Colonial and Indian subjects generally; and to undertake scientific, literary, and statistical investigations in connection with the British Empire. But no Paper shall be read, or any Discussion be permitted to take place, tending to give to the Institute a party character." (Rule I.)

MEMBERSHIP.

There are two classes of Fellows, Resident and Non-Resident, both elected by the Council on the nomination of any two Fellows: the former pay an entrance-fee of £8, and an Annual Subscription of £2; the latter £1 1s. a year, and no entrance-fee. Resident Fellows can become Life Members on payment of £20, and Non-Resident Fellows on payment of £10.

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Use of Rooms, Papers, and Library. All Fellows, whether residing in England or the Colonies, have the Annual Volume of the Proceedings of the Institute forwarded to them.

The support of all British subjects, whether residing in the United Kingdom or the Colonies—for the Institute is intended for both—is earnestly desired in promoting the great objects of extending knowledge respecting the various portions of the Empire, and in promoting the cause of its permanent unity. Contributions to the Library will be thankfully received.

FREDERICK YOUNG, *Hon. Sec.*

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(Those marked * are Honorary Fellows.)

(Those marked † have compounded for life.)

Year of
Election

RESIDENT FELLOWS.

| | |
|------|---|
| 1872 | ABRAHAM, AUGUSTUS B., Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W. |
| 1875 | ACTON, ROGER, 11, Crescent Place, Mornington Crescent, N.W. |
| 1874 | ADDERLEY, AUGUSTUS J., 8, Porchester Gate, W. |
| 1874 | ADLER, J. H., 79, Coleman Street, E.C. |
| 1868 | AIRLIE, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, Airlie Lodge, Campden Hill, Kensington, W., and Brookes' Club, S.W. |
| 1872 | ALCOCK, COLONEL T. ST. L., 22, Somerset Street, Portman Square, W. |
| 1877 | ALEXANDER, JOHN CASSELS, 49, Porchester Terrace, Hyde Park, W. |
| 1875 | †ANDERSON, EDWARD R., 39, Eastbourne Terrace, Hyde Park, W. |
| 1874 | ANDERSON, WILLIAM MATHER, Oriental Bank, 40, Threadneedle Street, E.C. |
| 1876 | ANNAND, WILLIAM, Agent-General for Canada, 31, Queen Victoria Street, E.C. |
| 1873 | ARBUTHNOT, MAJOR G., R.A., Carlton Club, S.W. |
| 1868 | ARGYLL, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, K.T., Argyll Lodge, Campden Hill, Kensington, W. |
| 1876 | ARNEY, SIR GEORGE A., Hanover Square Club, W. |
| 1874 | ASHLEY, HON. EVELYN, M.P., 61, Cadogan Place, S. W., and 2, Hare Court, Temple, E.C. |
| 1874 | ATKINSON, CHARLES E., Algoa Lodge, Beckenham, Kent. |
| 1872 | BADENOCH, REV. DR. G. R., Clarence Chambers, 12, Haymarket, S.W. |
| 1874 | BANNER, EDWARD G., 11, Billiter Square, E.C. |
| 1874 | BARCLAY, SIR DAVID W., Bt., 42, Holland Road, Kensington, W. |
| 1877 | BARKLY, SIR HENRY, K.C.B., G.C.M.G., 25, Queen's Gate Terrace, S.W. |
| 1868 | BARR, E.G., 76, Holland Park, Kensington, W. |
| 1870 | BEDINGFELD, FELIX, C.M.G., Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W. |

Year of
Election.

- 1869 BEER, JULIUS, 56, Portland Place, W.
- 1876 BEETON, H. C., 2, Adamson Road, South Hampstead, N.W.
- 1878 BELL, WM. MOORE, Bolton Hall, near Wigton, Cumberland.
- 1874 BENJAMIN, LOUIS ALFRED, 65, Russell Square, W.C.
- 1868 BENNETT, O. F., 55, Queen's Square, Bristol.
- 1869 BERGTHEIL, J., 88, Warwick Road, Maida Hill, W.
- 1868 BLACHFORD, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, K.C.M.G.; Athenæum Club, S.W.; and Blachford, Ivybridge, Devon.
- 1868 BLAINE, D.P., 2, Suffolk Lane, Cannon Street, E.C.
- 1868 BLAINE, HENRY, 2, Cleveland Road, Castle Hill, Ealing, W.
- 1877 BLYTH, SIR ARTHUR, K.C.M.G. (Agent-General for South Australia), 8, Victoria Chambers, Westminster, S.W.
- 1878 BONWICK, JAMES, 3, Villesworth Heath, Vale of Health, Hampstead, N.W.
- 1872 BOURNE, C. W., Eagle House, Eltham, S.E.
- 1868 BOUTCHER, EMANUEL, 12, Oxford Square, Hyde Park, W.
- 1869 BRAND, WILLIAM, 109, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
- 1869 BRIGGS, THOMAS, Homestead, Richmond, Surrey.
- 1869 BROAD, CHARLES HENRY, Castle View, Weybridge, Surrey.
- 1874 BROGDEN, JAMES, Seabank House, Portcawl, near Bridgend, Glamorganshire.
- 1869 BROWN, J. B., F.R.G.S., 90, Cannon Street, E.C., and Bromley, Kent.
- 1876 BROWNE, COLONEL SIR T. GORE, K.C.M.G., C.B., 7, Kensington Square, W.
- 1875 BUCHANAN, A., M.D., 48, Eastbourne Terrace, W., and Junior Athenæum Club.
- 1868 BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, G.C.S.I. (Governor of Madras).
- 1871 BURGESS, EDWARD J., 81, Palmerston Buildings, E.C.
- 1872 BURTON, W. H., Auldana Vineyard Office, Mill Street, Hanover Square, W.
- 1868 BURY, THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT, K.C.M.G., 65, Prince's Gate, S.W.
- 1875 BUTTERWORTH, ROBERT L., 70, Basinghall Street, E.C.
- 1874 BYL, P. G. VANDER (Consul-General for the Orange Free State Republic), 102, Harley Street, W.
- 1869 CAMPBELL, ROBERT, Union Bank of Australasia, Prince's Street, E.C., and Buscot Park, Berkshire.
- 1868 CARDWELL, THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT, 74, Eaton Square, S.W.
- 1877 CARGILL, EDWARD BOWES, 28, Cornhill, E.C.
- 1868 †CARLINGFORD, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, 7, Carlton Gardens, S.W.

Year of
Election.

- 1868 CARNARVON, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, Colonial Office, S.W.
- 1875 CARPENTER, MAJOR C., R.A., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1876 CARVILL, P. G., J.P., Benvenue, Rosstrevor, Co. Down; 23, Park Crescent; and Reform Club, S.W.
- 1868 CAVE, THE RIGHT HON. STEPHEN, M.P., 35, Wilton Place, S.W.
- 1868 CHALLIS, J. H., Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1877 CHAMPION, LIEUT. P. R., R.M.L.I., Chatham.
- 1872 CHESSON, F. W., 172, Lambeth Road, S.E.
- 1868 CHILDERS, THE RIGHT HON. HUGH, M.P., 17, Prince's Gardens, S.W.
- 1873 CHOWN, T. C., 29, Pembroke Gardens, Kensington, and Thatched House Club, S.W.
- 1868 CHRISTIAN, H.R.H. THE PRINCE, K.G., Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Great Park.
- 1869 CHURCHILL, LORD ALFRED SPENCER, 16, Rutland Gate, S.W.
- 1872 CLARK, CHARLES, 20, Belmont Park, Lee, Kent.
- 1875 †CLARKE, HYDE, D.C.L., 32, St. George's Square, S.W.
- 1877 CLENCH, FREDERICK, M.I.M.E. (Messrs. Roby & Co.), Lincoln.
- 1868 CLIFFORD, SIR CHARLES, Hatherton Hall, Cannock, Staffordshire.
- 1874 CLOETE, WOODBINE, 3, Clement's Lane, E.C., and St. Stephen's Club, Westminster, S.W.
- 1875 CLOETE, HENRY, Riverside, Walton-on-Thames, Surrey.
- 1877 COCHRAN, JAMES, Sycamore Lodge, Thicket Road, Anerley, S.E.
- 1872 COLOMB, CAPTAIN J. C. R., R.M.A., Droumquinna, Kenmare, County Kerry, Ireland; and Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W.
- 1869 COLTHURST, J.B., 4, Danes Inn, Strand, W.C.
- 1876 COODE, SIR JOHN, 35, Norfolk Square, W., and 2, Westminster Chambers, S.W.
- 1874 †COODE, M. P. (Secunderabad, Madras Presidency, India.)
- 1874 COOPER, SIR DANIEL, BART, 20, Prince's Gardens, S.W.
- 1874 *CORVO, H. E. SUR JOAO ANDRADA, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Portugal.
- 1874 COSENS, FREDERICK W., 16, Water Lane, Tower Street, E.C.
- 1874 COX, SLOPER, Highlands, Gipsy Hill, S.E.
- 1873 †CRAWSHAY, GEORGE, 6, Adelphi Terrace, Strand, W.C.
- 1869 CROLL, ALEXANDER, Mavas Bank, Grange Road, Upper Norwood.
- 1869 CROLL, COLONEL ALEXANDER ANGUS, 10, Coleman Street, E.C., and Granard Lodge, Roehampton.
- 1876 CROSSMAN, COLONEL W., R.E., C.M.G. 30, Harcourt Terrace, Redcliffe Square, S.W., and Junior United Service Club.
- 1874 CUMMING, GEORGE, Junior Athenæum Club, Piccadilly, W.
- 1875 CURRIE, DONALD, C.M.G., 13, Hyde Park Place, W.

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CURREY, ELIOTT S., M.L.C.E., 11, Great George Street, Westminster, S.W.

CURWEN, REV. E. H., Plumland Rectory, Carlisle.

CURWEN, REV. A. J., Harrington Rectory, Cumberland.

DAINTREE, RICHARD, C.M.G., Holyrood House, Beckenham, Kent.

DALGETY, F. GONNERMAN, 16, Hyde Park Terrace, Hyde Park, W.

DAUBENEY, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR H. C. B., K.C.B., 86, Elvaston Place, S.W.

DAVIS, STEUART S., Havelock House, Richmond Road, Bournemouth.

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DU-CROZ, F. A., 52, Lombard Street, E.C.

DUDELL, GEORGE, Queen's Park, Brighton.

DUFF, WILLIAM, 11, Orsett Terrace, Bayswater, W.

DUFFIELD, ALEXANDER J., Savile Club, Savile Row, W.

DUNCAN, MAJOR F., M.A., D.C.L., Royal Artillery, Woolwich.

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DUNN, JAMES, 47, Prince's Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.

DUPRAT, M. LE VISCOMTE, Consul-General for Portugal, 8, St. Mary Axe, E.C., and 46, Palace Gardens Terrace, W.

DURHAM, JOHN HENRY, 81, Great St. Helen's, E.C.

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ELDER, ALEXANDER LANG, Campden House, Kensington, W.

ELLIOT, ROBERT H., 88, Park Lane, W., and Clifton Park, Kelso, Roxburghshire, N.B.

ENGLEHEART, J. D. G., Duchy of Lancaster Office, Lancaster Place W.C.

FAIRFAX, T. S., Newtown, St. Boswell's, N.B., and Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

FANNING, WM., Bozesham, Whitchurch, Reading.

FARMER, JAMES, 6, Porchester Gate, Hyde Park, W.

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- 1873 †FEARON, FREDERICK (Secretary of the Trust and Loan Company of Canada), 7, Great Winchester Street Buildings, E.C.
- 1875 FERGUSSON, THE RIGHT HON. SIR JAMES, BART., K.C.M.G., 24, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.; Carlton Club; and Kilkerran, N.B.
- 1869 FILBY, M.B., East Croydon, and Jerusalem Coffee House, E.C.
- 1876 FISHER, JAMES, Conservative Club, S.W.
- 1876 FOOKING, ADOLPHUS, 106, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
- 1876 FORSTER, ANTHONY, Finlay House, Brittany Road, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
- 1875 FORSTER, RIGHT HON. W. E., M.P., 80, Eccleston Square, S.W.
- 1868 FORTESCUE, THE HON. DUDLEY, 9, Hertford Street, Mayfair, W.
- 1869 FRANKLIN, SELIM, 43, Albemarle Street, W.
- 1870 †FREELAND, HUMPHRY W., 16, Suffolk Street, S.W.; Athenæum Club; and Chichester.
- 1875 FRERE, GEORGE, 16, Great College Street, Westminster, S.W.
- 1868 FRESHFIELD, WILLIAM D., 5, Bank Buildings, E.C.
- 1872 *FROUDE, J. A., M.A., F.R.S., 5, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
- 1869 †GALTON, CAPTAIN DOUGLAS, C.B., 12, Chester Street, Grosvenor Place, S.W.
- 1874 GAWLER, COLONEL J. C. (late 73rd Foot), Tower, E.C.
- 1875 GILLESPIE, ROBERT, 55, Onslow Square, S.W.
- 1869 GODSON, GEORGE R., 8, Albert Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W.
- 1876 GOODWIN, REV. R., Hildersham Rectory, Cambridge.
- 1869 GOSCHEN, THE RIGHT HON. G. J., M.P., 69, Portland Place, W.
- 1868 GRAIN, WILLIAM, 50, Gresham House, Old Broad Street, E.C.
- 1869 GRANVILLE, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, K.G., 18, Carlton House-Terrace, S.W.
- 1877 †GREATHEAD, JAMES HENRY, C.E., 6, Queen Anne's Gate, S.W.
- 1872 GREAVES, EDWARD, Watchbury House, Barford, near Warwick.
- 1876 GREENE, FREDERICK, 142, Westbourne Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
- 1874 GREEN, GEORGE, Glanton House, Sydenham Rise, S.E.
- 1868 GREGORY, CHARLES HUTTON, C.M.G., 2, Delahay Street, Westminster, S.W.
- 1875 GRIEVE, THOMAS K., 48, Jewin Street, Aldersgate Street, E.C.
- 1876 GRIFFITH, W. DOWNES, 57, Harcourt Terrace, S.W.
- 1875 GUY, GEORGE, 42, Haverstock Hill, N.W.
- 1874 GWYNNE, FRANK A., Royal Thames Yacht Club, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, W.
- 1876 HALIBURTON, A. L., 86, The Albany, Piccadilly, W.
- 1878 HALL, ARTHUR, 35, Craven Hill Gardens, W.

Year of
Election.

- 1875 HALL, HENRY, 4, Glynde Terrace, Lavender Hill, S.W.
- 1868 HAMILTON, ARCHIBALD, 17, St. Helen's Place, E.C.
- 1875 HAMILTON, ROBERT, 17, St. Helen's Place, E.C.
- 1876 HAMILTON, THOMAS, J.P., 82, Charing Cross, S.W.
- 1876 HANBURY, PHILIP CAPEL, 60, Lombard Street, and Windham Club, S.W.
- 1872 HARDY, THE RIGHT HON. GATHORNE, M.P., War Office, and 17, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.
- 1868 HARRINGTON, THOMAS MOORE, National Bank of Australasia, 149, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
- 1877 HARRIS, WOLF, 14, Craven Hill, Hyde Park, W.
- 1869 HAUGHTON, JOHN, Manor House, Long Stretton, Norfolk.
- 1876 *HECTOR, THOMAS, M.D., C.M.G. (Wellington, New Zealand.)
- 1877 HEMMANT, WILLIAM, Holyrood House, Ealing.
- 1868 HENTY, WILLIAM, 12, Medina Villas, Brighton.
- 1876 HILL, REV. JOHN G. H., M.A., Quarley Rectory, Andover, Hants.
- 1869 HILL, JOHN S., 32, Great St. Helen's, E.C.
- 1868 HINCKS, CAPTAIN A. S., Junior United Service Club, S.W.
- 1872 HODGSON, ARTHUR, Clopton, Stratford-on-Avon, and Windham Club, St. James's Square, S.W.
- 1874 †HOGG, QUINTIN, 5, Richmond Terrace, Whitehall, S.W.
- 1875 HOLLINGS, H. DE B, M.A., New University Club, St. James's Street, S.W.
- 1869 HOUGHTON, LORD, Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1876 †HOUSTOUN, G. L., Johnstone Castle, Johnstone, Renfrewshire, N.B.
- 1869 IRWIN, J. V. H., 5, Alpha Place, Regent's Park, N.W.
- 1869 JAMIESON, HUGH, Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1872 JAMIESON, T. BUSHBY, Windham Club, St. James's Square, S.W.
- 1874 JOHNSTON, A. R. CAMPBELL, F.R.S., F.R.G.S., 84, St. George's Square, S.W., and Athenæum Club.
- 1868 JONES, SIR WILLOUGHBY, BART., Cranmer Hall, Fakenham, Norfolk.
- 1874 JOURDAIN, H. J., 54, Gloucester Gardens, W.
- 1868 JULYAN, SIR PENROSE G., K.C.M.G. and C.B., Downing Street, S.W.
- 1876 KARUTH, FRANK, Oakhurst, The Knoll, Beckenham, Kent.
- 1877 KENNEDY MURRAY, Ardwick Hall, Manchester; Knockralling, Kirkcudbrightshire, N.B.; and New University Club, S.W.
- KIMBER, HENRY, 79, Lombard Street, E.C.
- KING, HENRY S., 65, Cornhill, E.C.
- †KINNAIRD, HON. ARTHUR, M.P., 2, Pall Mall East, S.W.

Year of
Election.

- 1875 KNIGHT, A. H., 62, Holland Park, Kensington, W.
 1876 KNIGHT, JOSEPH J., Mera Lodge, Bexley Heath, Kent.
 1873 KNIGHT, WM., 4, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
 1869 †LABILLIERE, FRANCIS P., 5, Pump Court, Temple, E.C., and 5, Aldridge Road Villas, W.
 1875 LANDALE, ROBERT, Casmo House, Dulwich Hill, S.E.
 1876 LARDNER, W. G., 2, Burwood Place, Hyde Park, W.
 1875 LAWRENCE, W. F., New University Club, St. James's Street.
 LAWRENCE, ALEXANDER M., 17, Thurlow Road, Hampstead, N.W.
 1869 LEVESON, EDWARD J., Cluny, Sydenham Hill, S.E.
 1874 LEVIN, NATHANIEL, 44, Cleveland Square, W.
 1874 LITTLETON, HON. HENRY, Teddesley, Penkridge, Staffordshire.
 1874 *LLOYD, SAMPSON S., M.P. (President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom), Moor Hall, Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire, and Carlton Club.
 1876 LOUGHNAN, HENRY, 13, Powis Square, Bayswater.
 1875 †LOW, W. ANDERSON, 59, Radcliffe Gardens, South Kensington, SW.
 1877 LUBBOCK, NEVILE, 16, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
 1871 LUBBOCK, SIR JOHN, BART., M.P., 15, Lombard Street, E.C.
 1872 LYONS, GEORGE, M.A., 3, Victoria Square, S.W.
- 1869 MACARTHUR, ALEXANDER, M.P., Raleigh Hall, Brixton, S.W.
 1873 MACARTHUR, WILLIAM, M.P., 1, Gwyder Houses, Brixton, S.W.
 1874 MACCARTHY, JUSTIN, 48, Gower Street, W.C.
 1868 McDONALD, H. C., 116, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
 1869 MACDONALD, ALEXANDER J., 2, Suffolk Lane, Cannon Street, E.C.
 1872 MACDONNELL, SIR RICHARD GRAVES, K.C.M.G., C.B., Athenæum Club ; and Sorrento House, Co. Dublin, Ireland.
 1877 MACDOUGALL, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR PATRICK L., K.C.M.G., War Office, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1874 MACEWEN, JOHN T. HOWIE, Old Swan Wharf, E.C., and 3, Stanley Gardens, Kensington Park, W.
 1873 †MACFARLAN, ALEXANDER, 25, Sackville Street, W.
 1869 MACFIE, R. A., Reform Club, S.W.; and Dreghorn, Colinton, Edinburgh, N.B.
 1874 MCKERRELL, R. M., Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1874 MACKILLOP, C. W., 69, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, S.W.
 1869 MACKINNON, W., Balmakiel, Clachan, Argyleshire, N.B.
 1869 McLACHLAN, ARCHIBALD, Hatherley Hall, Cheltenham.
 1872 MACLEAY, ALEXANDER D., Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1869 MACLEAY, SIR GEORGE, K.C.M.G., Pendell Court, Bletchingley, Surrey

Year of
Election.

- 1875 MACNAB, D. M., Union Club, Trafalgar Square, S.W.
- 1875 †MACPHERSON, JOSEPH, Devonshire Club, St. James's, S.W.
- 1869 MAITLAND, WILLIAM, 2, Royal Exchange Buildings, E.C.
- 1869 MANBY, LIEUT.-COLONEL CHARLES, 24, Great George Street, Westminster, S.W.
- 1868 †MANCHESTER, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, K.P., 1, Great Stanhope Street, W., and Kimbolton Castle, St. Neot's.
- 1868 MARSH, M. H., Ramridge, Andover, Hants.
- 1877 MARSHALL, JOHN, F.R.G.S., Auckland Lodge, Queen's Road, Richmond, Surrey.
- 1875 MARTIN, EDWARD, 2, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
- 1875 MATTHEWS, WILLIAM, 46, Avenue Road, Regent's Park, N.W.
- 1877 MAYNARD, H. W., St. Aubyn's, Grosvenor Road, Wimbledon, S.W.
- 1872 MEREWETHER, F. S. S., Peacocks, Ingatestone, Essex.
- 1875 MAYNE, EDWARD GRAVES, M.A., 40, Elgin Road, Dublin.
- 1877 MERRY, WILLIAM L., Wool Exchange, Coleman Street, E.C.
- 1874 MILLER, JOHN, Sherbrooke Lodge, Brixton, S.W.
- 1869 MILLIGAN, DR. JOSEPH, 6, Craven Street, Strand, W.C.
- 1868 MOLINEUX, GISBORNE, 1, East India Avenue, E.C.
- 1869 MONCK, RTA HON. VISCOUNT, G.C.M.G., Brook's Club, S.W., and Charleville, Enniskerry, Wicklow.
- 1869 MONTAGU, J. M. P., Downe Hall, Bridport, Dorset, and 51, St. George's Road, S.W.
- 1869 MONTEFIORE, JACOB, 1, Oriental Place, Brighton.
- 1877 MONTEFIORE, J. B., 86, Kensington Gardens Square, W.
- 1877 MONTEFIORE, J. L., 5, Winchester Street, Old Broad Street, E.C.
- 1868 †MONTGOMERIE, HUGH E., 17, Gracechurch Street, E.C.
- 1868 MOOR, HENRY, Sussex Square, Brighton.
- 1878 MOORE, WM. FREDK., 5, Queen's Road, Richmond, Surrey.
- 1868 MORGAN, SEPTIMUS VAUGHAN, 6, The Boltons, South Kensington, S.W.
- 1876 *MORGAN, HENRY J., Ottawa, Canada.
- 1877 MORT, LAIDLEY, 6, Longridge Road, South Kensington, S.W.
- 1869 MORT, W., 1, Stanley Crescent, Notting Hill, W.
- 1875 MOSENTHAL, JULIUS DE, 1, Bier Lane, E.C.
- 1875 MUIR, HUGH, 82, Lombard Street, E.C.
- 1868 MUTTLEBURY, JAMES W., Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W., and 47, Leinster Gardens, W.
- 1874 †NAZ, VIRGILE, C.M.G., care of Messrs. Chalmers, Guthrie, & Co., 9, Idol Lane, E.C.
- 1875 NELSON, WILLIAM, Moorlands, Kenilworth.

Year of
Election.

- 1868 NICHOLSON, SIR CHARLES, BART., The Grange, Totteridge, Herts, N.
1868 NORTHCOTE, THE RIGHT HON. SIR STAFFORD H., BART., C.B., M.P.,
11, Downing Street, S.W.
1874 NUTT, R. W., Conservative Club, St. James's Street, S.W., and Paris.

1876 OHLSON, JAMES L., 9, Billiter Square, E.C.
1875 OMMANEY, H. M.
1875 O'NEILL, JOHN HUGH (Agent for Quebec), 81, Queen Victoria
Street, E.C.
1875 †OPPENHEIM, HERMANN, 17, Rue de Londres, Paris.
1875 OPPENHEIMER, JOSEPH, 52, Brown Street, Manchester.
1872 OTWAY, ARTHUR JOHN, 19, Cromwell Road, S.W.

1876 PALMER, HENRY POLLARD, 15, Coleman Street, E.C.
1875 PAGET, JOHN C., 79, Woodstock Road, Finsbury Park, N.
1869 PATERSON, J., 15, Coleman Street, E.C.
1874 PATTERSON, MYLES, 28, Gloucester Place, Hyde Park, W.
1876 PAYNE, EDWARD J., 181, Piccadilly, W.
1877 PEACOCK, GEORGE, 74, Coleman Street, E.C.
1875 PERCEVAL, AUGUSTUS G., Langfords, Buckhurst Hill, Essex.
1875 PERRY, THE RIGHT REV. BISHOP, D.D., 82, Avenue Road, Regent's
Park, N.W.
1870 PETER, JOHN, Conservative Club, St. James's Street, S.W.
1875 PHILPOTT, RICHARD, 8, Abchurch Lane, E.C.
1878 †PIM, CAPTAIN BEDFORD, R.N., M.P., Leaside, Kingswood Road,
Upper Norwood, S.E.
1869 †POORE, MAJOR R., Old Lodge, Stockbridge, Hants.
1875 PORTER, ROBERT, Westfield House, South Lyncombe, Bath.
1874 POTTER, RICHARD, 14, Prince's Gardens, and Standish House,
Stonehouse, Gloucestershire.
1878 PRANCE, REGINALD H., 2, Hercules Passage, E.C., and Frognall,
Hampstead, N.W.
1868 PRATT, J. J., Commissioner for the Transvaal, 79, Queen Street,
Cheapside, E.C.
1878 PRINCE, J. SAMPSON, 84, Craven Hill Gardens, W.
1874 PUGH, W. R., M.D., Victoria Lodge, Hurstpierpoint, Sussex, and
Junior Athenæum Club, Piccadilly, W.
1875 PUNSHON, REV. DR. MORLEY, Tranby, Brixton Rise, S.W.
1877 PURDY, WILLIAM, 54, Old Broad Street, E.C.

1871 QUIN, THOMAS F., F.R.G.S., Whitelands, High Street, Clapham
S.W.

Year of
Election.

- 1868 RAE, JAMES, 32, Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, W.
- 1869 †RAE, JOHN, LL.D., F.S.A., 9, Mincing Lane, E.C.
- 1876 RAE, JOHN, M.D., LL.D., 2, Addison Gardens South, Kensington, W.
- 1872 RAMAGE, W. W., London and Colorado Co., Winchester Buildings, Old Broad Street, E.C.
- 1872 RAMSDEN, RICHARD, Woldringfold, near Horsham.
- 1869 RENNIE, J. T., Aberdeen, and 6, East India Avenue, E.C.
- 1878 RICHARDSON, WILLIAM, Limber Magna, Ulceby, Lincolnshire.
- 1874 RICHMAN, H. J., 46, Clanricarde Gardens, Bayswater, W.
- 1868 RIDGWAY, LIEUT.-COLONEL A., 2, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1872 RIVINGTON, ALEXANDER, Brooklands, Upper Norwood, S.E.
- 1877 ROBB JOHN, Oriental Bank, Threadneedle Street, E.C.
- 1877 ROGERS, COLIN, 36, Mark Lane, E.C.
- 1869 ROSE, SIR JOHN, BART., K.C.M.G., Bartholomew House, Bartholomew Lane, E.C., and 18, Queen's Gate, S.W.
- 1874 ROSS, HAMILTON, Lane's Hotel, St. Alban's Place, S.W.
- 1875 RUSSELL, G. GREY, care of Messrs. Russell, Le Cren, and Co., 37, Lombard Street, E.C.
- 1875 RUSSELL, PHILIP, Palace Hotel, Buckingham Gate, S.W.
- 1875 RUSSELL, THOMAS, C.M.G., Haremare Hall, Hurstgreen, Sussex.
- 1876 RYALL, R., 1, Guildhall Chambers, Basinghall Street, E.C.
- 1874 ST. JEAN, M. LE VISCOMTE ERNEST DE SATJÈ, Junior Athenæum Club, Piccadilly, W., and Malvern Wells, Worcestershire.
- 1874 †SANDERSON, JOHN, Buller's Wood, Chislehurst, Kent.
- 1868 SARGEANT, W. C., C.M.G., New Government Buildings, Downing Street, S.W.
- 1878 SASSOON, ARTHUR, 2, Albert Gate, S.W.
- 1877 SCHIFF, CHARLES, 36, Sackville Street, W.
- 1869 †SCHWARTZE, HELMUTH, Osnabruck House, Denmark Hill, S.E.
- 1872 SCOTT, ABRAHAM, 12, Farquhar Road, Upper Norwood, S.E.
- 1868 SEARIGHT, JAMES, 7, East India Avenue, E.C.
- 1871 SEROCOLD, G. PEARCE, Rodborough Lodge, Stroud, Gloucestershire.
- 1874 SHIPSTER, HENRY F., 44, Queensboro' Terrace, Kensington Gardens, W.
- 1868 †SILVER, S. W., 4, Sun Court, Cornhill, E.C.
- 1869 SIMMONDS, P. L., 29, Cheapside, E.C.
- 1878 SMITH, W. H., M.P., The Greenlands, Henley-on-Thames, and 2, Hyde Park Street, W.
- 1874 SOPER, W. G., 10, King's Arms Yard, Moorgate Street, E.C.
- 1878 SPENCE, J. BERGER, F.R.G.S., & Co., 31, Lombard Street, E.C.
- 1870 SPENSLY, HOWARD, 2, Hare Court, Temple, E.C.

Year of
Election.

- 1874 SPICER, JAMES, 50, Upper Thames Street, E.C.
- 1875 STEIN, ANDREW, Protea House, Cambridge Gardens, Notting Hill, W.
- 1872 STANFORD, EDWARD, 55, Charing Cross, S.W.
- 1868 STEPHENS, WILLIAM, 3, Apsley Terrace, Acton, W.
- 1868 STEVENS, JAMES, Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1875 STEVENSON, L. C., Hall Place, Bexley.
- 1874 †STIRLING, SIR CHARLES, BART, Glorat, Milton of Campsie, Stirlingshire, N.B., and Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1877 STONE, F. W., B.C.L., 7, Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
- 1872 STOVIN, REV. C. F., 59, Warwick Square, S.W.
- 1875 STRANGWAYS, H. B. T., 21, Denmark Hill, Wimbledon, and 5, Pump Court, Temple, E.C.
- 1869 SUTTON, HON. GRAHAM MANNERS, Arthur's Club, St. James's St., S.W.
- 1868 SWALE, REV. H. J., M.A., J.P., The Elms, Guildford, Surrey.
- 1874 SWANZY, ANDREW, 122, Cannon Street, E.C., and Sevenoaks, Kent.
- 1875 SYMONS, G. J., 62, Camden Square, N.W.
- 1873 TAIT, SIR PETER, Southwark Street, S.E.
- 1876 TAYLOR, CHARLES J., 86, Inverness Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
- 1873 *TENNYSON, ALFRED, D.C.L., Haslemere, Surrey.
- 1875 THOMSON, J.D., St. Peter's Chambers, Cornhill, E.C.
- 1877 THRUPP, LEONARD W., 7, Randolph Road, Maida Hill, W.
- 1869 TIDMAN, PAUL FREDERICK, 84, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
- 1872 TINLINE, GEORGE, 17, Prince's Square, Hyde Park, W.
- 1875 TOOTH, FREDERICK, The Briars, Reigate, Surrey.
- 1872 TORRENS, SIR ROBERT R., K.C.M.G., Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1874 TRIMMER, EDMUND, 75, Cambridge Terrace, W., and 41, Botolph Lane, E.C.
- 1870 UNNA, FERDINAND, 12, Lancaster Gate, and 1, Coleman Street Buildings, Moorgate Street, E.C.
- 1869 WALKER, EDWARD, 17, Gracechurch Street, E.C.
- 1873 WALKER, SIR JAMES, K.C.M.G., C.B., Holne Lot, Ashburton, Devon.
- 1868 WALKER, WM., F.R.G.S., 48, Hildrop Road, Tufnell Park, N.W.
- 1875 WALLS, ANDREW M., 11, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
- 1877 *WATSON, J. FORBES, M.A., M.D., LL.D., India Office, S.W.
- 1871 WATSON, PETER, 54, Old Broad Street, E.C., and Sutton House, Hounslow.
- 1869 WEBB, WILLIAM, Newstead Abbey, near Nottingham.
- 1870 WELLINGS, HENRY, 44, Thistle Grove, South Kensington, S.W.

Year of
Election

- 1877 WETHERELL, WILLIAM S., 117, Cannon Street, E.C.
- 1875 WESTERN, CHARLES, R., 1, Inverness Terrace, Bayswater, W.
- 1868 WESTGARTH, WILLIAM, St. Andrew's House, Change Alley, E.C.,
and 10, Bolton Gardens, S.W.
- 1878 WHITE, ROBERT, Mildmay Chambers, 82, Bishopsgate Street Within,
E.C.
- 1876 WHITEHEAD, HERBERT M., Conservative Club, St. James's Street,
S.W.
- 1874 WILLS, GEORGE, White Hall, Hornsey Lane, N., and 26, Budge
Row, E.C.
- 1874 WILLIAMS, W. J., Thatched House Club, St. James's Street, S.W.
- 1868 WILSON, EDWARD, Hayes, Kent.
- 1876 WILSON, EDWARD D. J., Reform Club, S.W.
- 1874 WINGFIELD, SIR CHARLES, K.C.S.I., C.B., 81, Park Street, Grosvenor
Square, W.
- 1872 WINGROVE, R. P.
- 1873 WOLFEN, AUGUSTUS, 8, Philpot Lane, E.C.
- 1868 WOLFF, SIR HENRY DRUMMOND, K.C.M.G., M.P., Carlton Club, S.W.
and Boscombe Tower, Ringwood, Hants.
- 1878 WOOD, J. DENNISTOUN, 2, Hare Court, Temple, E.C.
- 1868 WRAY, LEONARD, Wood End House, Walthamstow.
- 1875 YARDLEY, S., 8, Victoria Chambers, Westminster, S.W.
- 1868 YOUL, JAMES A., C.M.G., Waratah House, Clapham Park, S.W.
- 1874 YOUNG, ADOLPHUS W., M.P., 126, Mount Street, W.; Reform Club,
S.W.; and Hare Hatch House, Twyford, Berks.
- 1869 †YOUNG, FREDERICK, 5, Queensberry Place, South Kensington, S.W.

NON-RESIDENT FELLOWS.

Year of
Election.

- 1877 A'DEANE, JOHN, Ashcott, Napier, New Zealand.
- 1877 ADOLPHUS, EDWIN, Chief Magistrate of the Gambia, Bathurst, West Africa.
- 1876 AKERMAN, J. W., M.L.C., Pietermaritzburgh, Natal.
- 1872 ALLAN, THE HON. G. W., Moss Park, Toronto, Canada.
- 1873 †ALLAN, SIR HUGH, Montreal, Canada.
- 1875 †ALLPORT, MORTON, Hobart Town, Tasmania.
- 1876 ALMON, M. B., Maplewood, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1873 ANDERSON, DICKSON, Montreal, Canada.
- 1876 ANDERSON, GEORGE, Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1875 ANDERSON, W. J., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1872 ARCHER, A., Queensland.
- 1878 ARMYTAGE, GEORGE, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
- 1877 ARMYTAGE, FERDINAND F., Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
- 1875 ARNOT, DAVID, Eskdale, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
- 1876 ATHERSTONE, DR. GUYBON, Grahamstown, Cape Colony (Corresponding Secretary.)
- 1872 AULD, PATRICK, Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1877 AUSTIN, THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM PERCY, D.D., Lord Bishop of Guiana, Kingston House, Georgetown, Demerara, West Indies.
- 1877 ARUNDEL, JOHN THOMAS, South Sea Islands.
- 1875 BABBER, A. H., Wairarapa, Wellington, New Zealand.
- 1876 BALDWIN, CAPTAIN W., Chingford, Dunedin, New Zealand.
- 1875 BAM, J. A., M.L.A., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1875 BARRY, HIS HONOUR MR. JUSTICE, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
- 1875 BARTER, HON. CHARLES, M.L.C., Pietermaritzburgh, Natal.
- 1875 BAYNES, HON. EDWIN DONALD, C.M.G., President of Antigua, St John's, Antigua, West Indies.
- 1877 BAYNES, THOMAS, Antigua, West Indies.
- 1875 BECKWITH, A. B., M.L.A., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1872 BEERE, D. M., Waipukurau, Napier, New Zealand.
- 1877 BEETHAM, WILLIAM H., Wairarapa, Wellington, New Zealand.
- 1877 BEIT, HENRY, Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1875 BENSUSAN, RALPH, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1873 BERKELEY, T. B. H., M.L.A., St. Kitt's, West Indies.
- 1868 BIRCH, HIS EXCELLENCY A. N., C.M.G., Lieut.-Governor of Ceylon.
- 1877 BIRCH, A. S., Hawkes' Bay, New Zealand.
- 1872 BIRCH, W. J., Lake Taupo, and Napier Club, Napier, New Zealand.
- 1873 BIRCH, W. J. (JUN.), Lake Taupo, New Zealand.

Year of
Election.

- 1877 BLACKWOOD, JAMES, Orring Road, near Melbourne, Australia.
- 1874 BLYTH, CAPTAIN, Chief Magistrate, Griqualand East, Cape Colony.
- 1874 BORRINOT, J. G., Clerk of the House of Commons, Ottawa, Canada.
- 1874 BOWEN, EDWARD, Sherbrooke, Quebec, Canada.
- 1877 POWERBANK, HON. T. Q., M.D., M.L.C., Kingston, Jamaica.
- 1875 BOYD, JAMES, Hobart Town, Tasmania.
- 1878 BRADSTREET, ROBERT, Natal, South Africa.
- 1874 BRIDGE, H. H., Fairfield, Ruataniwha, Napier, New Zealand.
- 1874 BRODRIBB, W. A., Buckhurst, South Head New Road, Woolahra,
New South Wales.
- 1875 BROUGHTON, FREDERICK, Great Western Railway of Canada, Hamil-
ton, Ontario.
- 1869 BROUGHTON, J.
- 1874 BROWN, HON. CHARLES, M.L.C., Queenstown, Cape Colony.
- 1876 BROWNE, HENRY, Brisbane, Queensland.
- 1872 BROWN, THE HON. THOMAS, Bathurst, River Gambia, West Africa.
- 1877 BROWNING, SAMUEL BOYD, New Zealand.
- 1876 BRUCE, J., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1876 BUCHANAN, ARCHIBALD B., Brisbane, Queensland.
- 1877 BULLIVANT, WILLIAM HOSE, Longerrnoug, Victoria, Australia.
- 1869 BULWER, HIS EXCELLENCY SIR HENRY ERNEST LYTTON, K.C.M.G.,
Governor of Natal.
- 1876 BURGERS, HON. J. A., M.L.C., Murraysburgh, Cape Colony.
- 1871 BURKE, SAMUEL CONSTANTINE, Assistant Attorney-General, Jamaica.
- 1873 BURNS, A., Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1872 BUTLER, MAJOR W. F., C.B. (late 69th Regiment).
- 1872 BUTTON, EDWARD, Transvaal, South Africa.
- 1874 CAMPBELL, A. H., Toronto, Canada.
- 1873 CAMPBELL, HON. C. J., Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1873 CAMPBELL, CHARLES J., Toronto, Canada.
- 1872 CAMPBELL, W. H., LL.D., Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 1873 CARON, ADOLPHE P., M.P., Quebec, Canada.
- 1869 CATTANACH, A. J., Toronto, Canada.
- 1876 CHADWICK, F. M., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1873 CHARNOCK, J. H., Lennoxville, Quebec, Canada.
- 1873 CHASE, J. CENTLIVRES, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
- 1874 CHIAPPINI, Dr., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1874 †CHINTAMON, HURRYCHUND (Political Agent for Native Princes).
- 1876 †CHRISTIAN, H. B., Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
- 1868 CLARKE, COL. SIR. ANDREW, R.E., K.C.M.G., C.B., Commissioner
of Public Works, Simla, India.

Year of
Election.

- 1872 COLLIER, CHARLES FREDERICK, Barrister-at-Law, Hobart Town, Tasmania.
- 1876 COLLINS, J. WRIGHT, Stanley, Falkland Islands.
- 1876 COMMISSIONG, W. S., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1869 CORNWALL, CLEMENT FRANCIS, Ashcroft, British Columbia.
- 1869 CORNWALL, HENRY, Ashcroft, British Columbia.
- 1877 †COX, HON. GEORGE H., M.L.C., Mudgee, New South Wales.
- 1873 CRAUFORD, CAPTAIN F., R.N., River Plate, Brazil.
- 1875 CRAWFORD, JAMES D., Montreal, Canada.
- 1876 CRESWICK, HENRY, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1869 CROOKES, HON. ADAM, M.P., Q.C., LL.D., Toronto, Canada.
- 1877 CROSBY, JAMES, Immigration Agent-General, Georgetown, Demerara, West Indies.
- 1878 CUMBERLAND, COLONEL FREDERICK W., Toronto, Canada.
- 1874 CURRIE, JAMES, Port Louis, Mauritius.
- 1875 DANIEL, S. C., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1874 DANGAR, W. J., Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1877 D'ARCY, EDWARD S., Civil Service Club, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1877 DAVENPORT, SAMUEL, Beaumont, Adelaide, South Australia (Corresponding Secretary.)
- 1873 †DAVIS, N. DARNELL, Postmaster-General of British Guiana, Georgetown, Demerara, West Indies.
- 1875 DAVIS, P. (JUN.), Pietermaritzburgh. Natal.
- 1873 DAWSON, G. P., Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1874 DENISON, LIEUT--COLONEL GEORGE T., Commanding the Governor-General's Body Guard, Toronto, Canada.
- 1873 DOMVILLE, CAPTAIN JAMES, M.P., St. John, New Brunswick.
- 1874 DOUTRÉ, JOSEPH, Q.C., Montreal, Canada.
- 1875 DOUGLAS, ARTHUR, Heatherton Towers, near Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
- 1869 DOYLE, SIR HENRY W. H., Kt., Chief Justice, Gibraltar.
- 1872 DUFFERIN, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, K.P., K.C.B., G.C.M.G., Governor-General of Canada.
- 1869 †DUNKIN, HON. MR. JUSTICE, Judge of the Supreme Court for Lower Canada, Knoulton, Quebec, Canada.
- 1876 †ELLIOTT, WILLIAM THOMAS, Rockhampton, Queensland.
- 1873 EDGAR, J. D., Toronto, Canada.
- 1877 EDWARDS, HERBERT, Oamaru, Otago, New Zealand.
- 1874 †EDWARDS, DR. W. A., Port Louis, Mauritius.

Year of
Election.

- 1869 ELMSLEY, HENRY, Toronto, Canada.
 1874 ERSKINE, MAJOR HON. D., Natal, South Africa.
 1874 ESCOMBE, HARRY, Durban, Natal, South Africa.
- 1876 FALLON, J. T., Albury, New South Wales.
 1877 FAUNTLEROY, ROBERT, J.P., Slipe Penn, Kingston, Jamaica.
 1876 FERARD, BINGHAM A., Napier, New Zealand.
 1878 FIFE, G. R., Brisbane, Queensland.
 1876 FINLAYSON, J. H., Adelaide, South Australia.
 1877 FIRTH, HENRY ALOYSIUS, Emigration Agent for British Guiana,
 Calcutta.
- 1876 FITZGERALD, HON. NICHOLAS, M.L.C., Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
 1874 FITZGERALD, CHARLES (late 38th Foot and 1st West India Regiment).
 1876 FITZGIBBON, E. G., Town Clerk of Melbourne, Australia.
 1869 FITZHERBERT, SIR WILLIAM, K.C.M.G., M.H.R., Wellington, New
 Zealand.
- 1875 FLOWER, JAMES, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
 1869 FORSYTH, WILLIAM L., Montreal, Canada.
 1876 FORTESCUE, G., M.B., Sydney, New South Wales.
 1876 FOX, HON. WILLIAM, Crofton, Rangitekei, New Zealand.
 1875 FRANCIS, HON. J. G., Melbourne, Australia.
- 1877 GARRAN, ANDREW, LL.D., Sydney, New South Wales.
 1868 GHINN, HENRY, Australia.
 1876 GIBB, COLONEL, R.A. (care of Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co.), Calcutta,
 India.
- 1875 GIBBS, S. M., Colran Station, Murumbidgee, New South Wales.
 1873 GIDDY, R. W. H.
 1876 †GILBERT, WILLIAM, Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
 1869 †GILMORE, CAPTAIN G., Launceston, Tasmania.
 1874 GILPIN, EDWIN, M.A., F.G.S., Halifax, Nova Scotia.
 1877 †GLANVILLE, THOMAS, Manchester, Jamaica.
 1874 GLANVILLE, THOMAS B., Grahamstown, South Africa.
 1872 GLOVER, THOMAS, Quebec, Canada.
 1875 GOLLAN, DONALD, Mangatata, Napier, New Zealand.
 1868 GOODLIFFE, FRANCIS G., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope,
 1874 GOODLIFFE, JOHN, Durban, Natal, South Africa.
 1869 GOODRICKE, D. G., Durban, Natal, South Africa.
 1869 GOODRICKE, J. R., Durban, Natal, South Africa.
 1876 GORDON, JOHN, Toronto, Canada.
 1878 GRAHAM, JOHN, Victoria, British Columbia.
 1877 GRANT, THOMAS HUNTER, Quebec, Canada.

Year of
Election.

- 1876 GRAVES, JOHN BULLER, Riverina, New South Wales.
 1877 GREEN, ROBERT COTTLE, Pretoria, Transvaal, South Africa.
 1875 GRIFFITH, T. R., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
 1875 GURNEY, FRANK, St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1874 HADDON, F. W., Melbourne, Australia.
 1872 HALIBURTON, R. G., Q.C., Halifax, Nova Scotia.
 1875 HARDY, C. BURTON, Adelaide, South Australia.
 1875 HARRIS, MAJOR G. DOUGLAS, R.A., Mexico.
 1875 HART, LIONEL, British Sherbro, West Africa.
 1876 HECHLER, REV. PROFESSOR W. H., Carlsruhe, Baden, Germany.
 1869 HELLMUTH, THE RIGHT REV. ISAAC, Lord Bishop of Huron, Norwood
 House, London, Canada.
 1868 HEATHERINGTON, A., Halifax, Nova Scotia.
 1869 HENDERSON, JOSEPH, Pietermaritzburgh, Natal.
 1875 HENNESSY, HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN POPE, C.M.G., Governor of Hong
 Kong.
 1878 HETT, J. ROWLAND, Clerk of the Legislative Assembly, Victoria,
 British Columbia.
 1875 HEWAT, CAPTAIN J., Superintendent, Cape Town Docks, Cape of
 Good Hope.
 1878 HIDDINGH, J., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
 1878 HIGGINS, D. W., Victoria, British Columbia.
 1872 HILL, HON. P. CARTERET, Colonial Secretary, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
 1876 HIND, PROFESSOR HENRY Y., Windsor, Nova Scotia.
 1876 HOPKINS, DAVID, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, St. Paul de
 Loanda, South-Western Africa.
 1877 HUDSON, JOHN FRAZER, Mossel Bay, Cape Colony.
 1875 HUGEL, ADOLPHE, Midland Railway of Canada, Port Hope, near
 Toronto, Canada.
 1875 HUGHES, HENRY KENT, Avenel, Adelaide, South Australia.
 1878 † HUGHES, W. W., Wallaroo, South Australia.
 1878 HULL, HUGH MUNRO, Clerk of Parliament, Hobart Town, Tasmania.
 (Corresponding Secretary.)
 1878 HUMAN, J. Z., M.L.A., Swellendam, Cape Colony.
 1872 HUNTINGTON, HON. L. S., Q.C., M.P. (Postmaster-General), Mon-
 treal, Canada.
 1873 HYAMS, ABRAHAM, Golden Spring, Jamaica.
- 1874 IRVING, HIS EXCELLENCY HENRY T., C.M.G., Governor of Trinidad.
 1871 JACKSON, THOMAS WITTER, Puisne Judge of the Gold Coast Colony,
 Cape Coast Castle.

- 1876 †JAMES, J. WILLIAM, F.G.S., Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
- 1872 † JENKINS, H. L., Indian Civil Service.
- 1874 JETTÉ, L. A., Montreal, Canada.
- 1876 JOHNSON, ALFRED W. WARLEIGH, Brighton, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1873 JOHNSON, MATTHEW TROTTER, Victoria, British Columbia.
- 1876 JOHNSON, G. CUNNINGHAM, J.P., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1876 JOHNSON, H. C. ROSS, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1878 JONES, S. TWENTYMAN, Stanmore, Rindebosch, near Cape Town.
- 1875 KEEFER, SAMUEL, C.E., Brooksville, Ontario, Canada.
- 1872 KELSEY, J. F., Bowen, Port Denison, Queensland.
- 1877 KEMSLEY, JAMES, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
- 1869 KER, ROBERT, Auditor-General, Victoria, British Columbia. (Corresponding Secretary.)
- 1869 KINGSMILL, JOHN JACHEREAU, County Judge, Walkerton, Ontario, Canada.
- 1869 KINGSMILL, NICOL, Toronto, Canada.
- 1877 KORTRIGHT, HIS EXCELLENCY C. H., C.M.G., Governor of British Guiana.
- 1876 KRIEL, REV. H. T., Aliwal North, Cape Colony.
- 1877 LAMB, ALFRED, Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1876 LANDALE, WALTER, Melbourne Club, Victoria, Australia.
- 1877 LASCELLES, EDWARD H., Geelong, Victoria, Australia.
- 1872 LAURIE, COLONEL (Staff), Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1875 LEEB, P. G., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1877 LEES, JAMES, Oamaru, Otago, New Zealand.
- 1877 LEMBERG, P., Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa.
- 1872 L'ESTRANGE, CAPTAIN CHAMPAGNI, Nova Scotia.
- 1869 LEVEY, CHARLES E., Quebec, Canada.
- 1873 LEVEY, G. COLLINS, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1877 LEVIN, W. H., Wellington, New Zealand.
- 1876 LEWIS, ALBERT, St. Vincent, West Indies.
- 1876 LIARDET, LIEUT. E. A., R.N., Her Majesty's Consul, Samoa.
- 1876 LOGGIE, J. CRAIG, C.M.G., Inspector-General of Police, Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa.
- 1875 LONGDEN, HIS EXCELLENCY SIR JAMES R., K.C.M.G., Governor of Ceylon.
- 1874 LOVESY, CONWAY W., Puisne Judge, British Guiana.
- 1868 LYNN, W. FRANK, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
- 1876 LOUW, M. J., M.L.A., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.

Year of
Election.

- 1875 MACDONALD, MURDO, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
- 1873 MACDOUGALL, HON. WM., C.B., M.P., Toronto, Canada.
- 1877 †MCGIBBON, JAMES H. C. (Superintendent, Cape Town Botanical Gardens), Holly Lodge, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1875 MACIAS, COLONEL J. M., Havana, Cuba.
- 1875 McMASTER, ALEXANDER, Waikaura, Otago, New Zealand.
- 1871 McMURRAY, J. S., Barrister, Toronto, Canada.
- 1869 MACNAB, REV. DR., Rector of Darlington, Canada.
- 1877 McNEILY, ALEXANDER J. W., M.H.A., St. John's, Newfoundland.
- 1878 MACPHERSON, ALEX. C., Port Louis, Mauritius.
- 1878 MACPHERSON, BRIGADIER-GENERAL HERBERT, V.C., C.B., Commanding at Mooltan, Punjaub, India.
- 1869 MASON, HENRY SLY-, Victoria, British Columbia.
- 1875 MARAIS, P. J., Pretoria, Transvaal, South Africa.
- 1869 MAUDE, COLONEL, F.C., V.C., C.B., Royal Artillery, Ontario, Canada.
- 1870 MELBOURNE, CHARLES SYDNEY DICK, Rockhampton, Queensland.
- 1876 MENDES, W. FISHER, Colonial Bank, St. Kitt's, West Indies.
- 1877 MERRIMAN, THE RIGHT REV. N. J., D.D., Lord Bishop of Grahams town, Cape Colony.
- 1876 MEWRANT, LOUIS HENRY, J.P., Clanwilliam, Cape Colony.
- 1874 MILLS, CAPTAIN CHARLES, Under-Colonial Secretary, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1876 MILNER, HENRY, Natal, South Africa.
- 1877 MITCHELL, HON. SAMUEL, Colonial Secretary, St. George's, Grenada West Indies.
- 1878 MOLTENO, HON. J. C., M.L.A., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1878 MOODIE, G. P., Transvaal, South Africa.
- 1875 MOODIE, THOMAS, M.L.A., Swellendam, Cape Colony.
- 1875 MORTLOCK, W. R., Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1876 MUNRO, J. P. G., J.P., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1877 MURPHY, SIR FRANCIS, Kt., Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
- 1877 †MUSGRAVE, HIS EXCELLENCY SIR ANTHONY, K.C.M.G., Governor of Jamaica.
- 1875 NAIRN, CHARLES J., Pourerere, Napier, New Zealand.
- 1875 NAIRN, JOHN, Pourerere, Napier, New Zealand.
- 1875 † NELSON, FREDERICK, Havelock, Napier, New Zealand.
- 1875 NICHOLLS, KERRY, Queensland.
- 1876 NIND, PHILIP HENRY, M.L.A., Brisbane, Queensland.
- 1878 NORDHEIMER, SAMUEL, Toronto, Canada.
- 1868 NORMANBY, THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF, G.C.M.G., Governor of New Zealand.

- 1874 NOWLAN, JOHN, M.H.A., Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1877 O'BRIEN, MAJOR W. E. BARRIE, Ontario, Canada.
- 1872 O'HALLORAN, J. S.
- 1876 O'MALLEY, HON. EDWARD L., Attorney-General, Kingston, Jamaica
- 1875 ORGIAS, P., M.D., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1869 OUSELEY, GORE, Indian Civil Service.
- 1869 OUSELEY, LIEUT.-COLONEL RALPH, Bengal Staff Corps.
- 1872 †PAINT, HENRY NICHOLAS, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1876 PARKER, HUGH, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
- 1872 PARKES, SIR HARRY, K.C.B., Ambassador at the Court of Japan, Yedo.
- 1875 PARKER, WILLIAM ALEXANDER, Chief Justice, British Honduras.
- 1876 PATERSON, JOHN, M.L.A., Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
- 1878 PEARCE, BENJAMIN W., Victoria, British Columbia.
- 1871 PHILIPPO, HON. GEORGE, Attorney-General, Hong-Kong.
- 1875 PHILLIPS, COLEMAN, Auckland, New Zealand.
- 1871 PINE, SIR BENJAMIN, K.C.M.G.
- 1875 PINSENT, ROBERT J., Q.C., St. John's, Newfoundland.
- 1877 †POLLARD, WILLIAM B., C.E., Georgetown, Demerara, West Indies.
- 1873 POOLE, HENRY, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia.
- 1873 †PORTER, W. (late Attorney-General), Cape Town, Cape Colony.
- 1876 POTTS, THOMAS, St. John, New Brunswick.
- 1876 PRAED, ARTHUR CAMPBELL, Brisbane, Queensland.
- 1870 †PRENTICE, EDWARD ALEXANDER, Montreal, Canada.
- 1872 PRESTOE, HENRY, Trinidad, West Indies.
- 1877 REID, ALEXANDER, Manager Colonial Bank, Georgetown, Demerara, West Indies.
- 1876 REINECKER, BERNHARD HENRY, B.A., Auditor of the Gold Coast Colony, Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
- 1874 RHIND, W. G., Victoria, Australia.
- 1876 ROBERTSON, ALEXANDER W., Ottawa Toorak, Victoria, Australia.
- 1876 ROBERTSON, WILLIAM, Melbourne Club, Victoria, Australia.
- 1869 ROBINSON, MAJOR C. W., Rifle Brigade, Gibraltar.
- 1872 ROBINSON, CHRISTOPHER, Q.C., Beverley House, Toronto, Canada.
- 1869 ROBINSON, JOHN, M.L.C., Durban, Natal, South Africa.
- 1869 ROGERS, HON. ALEXANDER, Member of Council, Bombay.
- 1876 ROLFE, GEORGE, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1876 ROLLESTON, CHRISTOPHER, Auditor-General, Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1877 ROMILLY, ALFRED, Mackay, Queensland.

Year of
Election.

- 1876 RONALD, R. B., Victoria, Australia.
- 1875 ROWE, HIS EXCELLENCY SAMUEL, C.M.G., Governor of West African Settlements.
- 1871 RUSDEN, GEORGE W., Clerk of Parliament, Melbourne.
- 1877 RUSSELL, ARTHUR E., Hawke's Bay, New Zealand.
- 1877 RUSSELL, GEORGE, Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1875 RUSSELL, H. C., Government Astronomer, Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1876 RUSSELL, HON. HENRY ROBERT, M.L.C., Mount Herbert, Waipukurau, Napier, New Zealand.
- 1876 RUSSELL, JOHN, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1878 RUSSELL, LOGAN, D. H., M.D., Government Park, near Spanish Town, Jamaica.
- 1875 RUSSELL, PURVIS, Woburn, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
- 1878 RUSSELL, ROBERT, LL.B., Barrister, Government Park, near Spanish Town, Jamaica.
- 1877 RUSSELL, CAPTAIN W. N., M.H.R., Flaxmere, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
- 1878 †ST. GEORGE, HENRY Q., Toronto, Canada, and Montpelier, France.
- 1874 SAMUEL, HON. SAUL, C.M.G., Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1872 SANJO, J., Yedo, Japan.
- 1876 SARJEANT, HENRY, Wanganui, New Zealand.
- 1877 SAUER, J. W., M.L.A., Aliwal North, Cape Colony.
- 1876 SCOTT, HENRY, Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1868 †SCOTT, SIR J., K.C.M.G. (late Governor of British Guiana).
- 1874 SEWELL, HORACE R., Quebec, Canada.
- 1876 SHARPE, HENRY (Provost Marshal), St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1876 SHAW, MAJOR E. W., Indian Staff Corps.
- 1869 SHEPSTONE, SIR THEOPHILUS, K.C.M.G., Pretoria, Transvaal, South Africa.
- 1869 SHEPSTONE, THEOPHILUS, M.L.C., Pietermaritzburgh, Natal, S. Africa.
- 1875 SHERIFF, HON. W. MUSGRAVE, Attorney-General, St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1876 SIMMONS, HON. CHARLES, M.L.C., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1877 SIMMS, W. K., J.P., Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1875 SMIDT, ABRAHAM DE, Surveyor-General, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1878 †SMITH, HON. DONALD A., M.P., Montreal, Canada.
- 1872 SMITH, SIR FRANCIS, Chief Justice of Tasmania, Hobart Town.
- 1878 SMITH, JAMES F., Barrister, Toronto, Canada.
- 1874 SNAGG, SIR WILLIAM, Kt., Chief Justice, Georgetown, British Guiana.

Year of
Election.

- 1876 SOLOMON, MICHAEL, Seville, St. Ann, Jamaica. .
 1877 SPENCE, J. BRODIE, Adelaide, South Australia.
 1878 STAHLSCHMIDT, THOS. LETT, Victoria, British Columbia.
 1875 STANFORD, J. F., Diamond Fields, South Africa.
 1874 STANFORD, ROBERT HARLEY, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
 1878 † STEPHENS, ROMEO, Montreal, Canada.
 1878 STEWART, ROBERT.
 1875 STUDHOLME, JOHN, Canterbury, New Zealand.
 1876 SULLIVAN, A. F., Melbourne Club, Victoria, Australia.

 1877 † TANNER, THOMAS, Havelock, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
 1872 † TENNANT, THE HON. DAVID, M.L.A., Speaker of the House of
 Assembly, Cape of Good Hope.
 1874 THIBANDEAU, ALFRED, Quebec, Canada.
 1872 THOMPSON, J. ROGERS, Levuka, Fiji.
 1874 THOMPSON, THOMAS, Transvaal, South Africa.
 1878 THOMSON, MATTHEW C., Rockhampton, Queensland.
 1878 THOMSON, W. A., M.P., Rideau Club, Ottawa, Canada.
 1872 THORNE, CORNELIUS, Shanghai, China.
 1870 THOZET, ANTHELME, Rockhampton, Queensland.
 1875 TIFFIN, HENRY H., J.P., Napier, New Zealand.
 1875 TROUPE, H. R., Auckland, New Zealand.
 1869 TRUTCH, HON. J. W., C.M.G.
 1874 TYSSSEN, G. R., Victoria, Australia.
 1877 TRAFFORD, HIS HONOR G., Chief Justice, St. Vincent, West Indies.

 1878 UNIAKE, A.M., Halifax, Nova Scotia.

 1875 VETICH, DR. J. T., Penang, Straits Settlements.
 1869 VERDON, SIR GEORGE, K.C.M.G., C.B., Melbourne.

 1876 † WALKER, EDWARD NOEL, Assistant Colonial Secretary, Kingston,
 Jamaica.
 1878 WALKER, MAJOR JOHN, London, Canada.
 1874 † WALKER, R. B. N., M.A., F.R.G.S., British Sherbro', West Africa.
 1875 WARD, J. H., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
 1878 WARL, WILLIAM CURTIS, Victoria, British Columbia.
 1875 WATSON, THOMAS, Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, Cape
 Town, Cape of Good Hope. (Corresponding Secretary.)
 1876 WATTS, HORACE, M.D., Stanley, Falkland Islands.
 1868 WELD, HIS EXCELLENCY FREDERICK A., Governor of Tasmania.
 1876 WEST-ERSKINE, W.A.E., M.A., Adelaide, South Australia.

Year of
Election.

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| 1877 | WESTMORELAND, HON. HENRY, M.L.C., Prospect, Annott's Bay P.O., Jamaica. |
| 1876 | WHITEHEAD, PERCY, Leolrop, Harrismith, Orange Free State, South Africa. |
| 1872 | WHITFIELD, R. H., Georgetown, British Guiana. |
| 1875 | WHITMAN, JAMES, St. John's, Newfoundland. |
| 1876 | WILMOT, ALEXANDER, J.P., Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony. |
| 1877 | WILSON, FREDERICK H., Cashmere, Canterbury, New Zealand. |
| 1875 | WILSON, JOHN N., Napier, New Zealand. |
| 1877 | WING, EDGAR, Tasmania. |
| 1876 | WINTON, ROBERT, St. John's, Newfoundland. |
| 1871 | WOODS, ROBERT STUART, Q.C., Chatham, Canada. |
| 1872 | WYATT, CAPTAIN (late Cape Mounted Rifles). |
| 1875 | WHITMORE, COLONEL, C.M.G., The Grange, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand. |
| 1876 | YOUNG, SIR WILLIAM, Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Nova Scotia. |

THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

SESSION 1876-77.

FIRST ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE First Ordinary General Meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, in Session 1876-77, was held on Tuesday, November 14th, 1876, at the "Pall Mall," 14, Regent-street. His Grace the Duke of **MANCHESTER**, President, occupied the chair.

Mr. **FREDK. YOUNG**, Hon. Sec., said: Before I read the minutes of the last meeting, I wish to ask your Grace the favour to allow me to detain you for one moment while I make one or two remarks on a subject of some importance, and one which, it appears to me, on this occasion of our first meeting for the new Session, and when we have so large an assemblage of ladies and gentlemen from all parts of the Empire, makes it a convenient opportunity for doing so. It occurs to me in my capacity as Honorary Secretary to hear occasional remarks made, which show me that there is an impression abroad that we seem to have some little preference for particular Colonies rather than for others. Now I wish to say—and I am quite sure I say it on the part of your Grace, and all my colleagues on the Council, and of myself also—that such an impression is totally erroneous. We have no favour for any, but have warm affection for all. (Hear, hear.) Our sympathies are as wide as the British Empire; whether the Colonies are of a more ancient or a more modern type, whether they be large or small, we wish to give them all the utmost support in our power, and to take up all questions connected with any of them, provided they come within the scope of the programme which we have laid down, which is a sufficiently broad one. We do this whether the subjects that come before us are social, scientific, literary, historical, or imperial; and I hope, therefore, that all our friends, from whatever Colony they come, will take my word for it, that our feelings towards them all are the same, and that we have no preference for one Colony rather than another. (Hear, hear.)

The Hon. Sec. then read the minutes of the last meeting, which were confirmed. The names of a number of Fellows—both Resident and Non-resident, from all parts of the Empire—who had been elected since the last meeting, were announced, and also a long list of books and papers contributed to the Library.

Mr. PRANCE took occasion to observe that, upon the question of all the Colonies being equally well represented by the Institute, and that there was a desire to be favourable to no one in particular, he could not help remarking that amongst all the names which had been read out as becoming members of the Institute, no one name had been referred to as coming from, or representing, India. (Hear, hear.) India was, in his opinion, the greatest ornament of the British Empire, and yet, amongst all the new members of the Institution, not one had come from India, while there were large accessions of members from every other Colony, such as Australia, Cape of Good Hope, &c. It was true that India was not a Colony, still he wished to know how it came about that no one joined from India.

Mr. YOUNG: It is our misfortune, and not our fault; we have several Indian members on our list, but I should like to see more from India. We open our doors to others if they choose to enter, and we shall be only too happy and too glad to elect many more.

Mr. LABILLIERE: If Mr. Prance will propose a score of Indian representatives, we shall be only too happy to elect them.

Mr. YOUNG: Perhaps the secret lies in the fact that they have their own Asiatic Association, and therefore do not want ours.

The Duke of MANCHESTER: I am sure that Mr. Prance did not impute it as any great blame for our not having many members from India, but rather as our misfortune. He must be very well aware that we shall be glad enough to get an accession of members from India as well as other dependencies of the Crown; but, as Mr. Youl said, there is already an Asiatic Association, which perhaps the Indians who come to England may think sufficient. Another thing, we must remember that India is a country of very ancient civilisation, different from our own, whereas the Colonies, from which the bulk of our members come, are all members of our own family civilisation, and our own nation; and no doubt that has something to do with it. Still, that does not prevent any member of the Council of the Institute from welcoming most heartily any members of the Empire of India who might be inclined to join it.

Mr. PRANCE: Your Grace has given a good reason why there should not be any member from India join, inasmuch as it is so

curiously and peculiarly constituted. I am quite sure that our Council would be only too glad to receive such members. I have no interest in India; I only spoke because the question was raised that we are willing to receive all comers. I can only hope that some Indians will join, which I believe would be beneficial to one and all.

Mr. J. DENNISTOUN Wood then proceeded to read his paper—

ON THE BENEFIT TO THE COLONIES OF BEING MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

One of the objects—I should, perhaps, not be far wrong if I were to say the principal object—of the Royal Colonial Institute is to promote the permanent unity of the Empire. In furtherance of that object papers have been read and discussions have taken place, in which the arguments of those who consider the Colonies a burden to the mother-country have been, as I venture to think, satisfactorily answered. But all these papers and discussions have been addressed rather to the British than to the Colonial public; for it has been assumed by the essayists and the speakers that the benefits derived by the Colonies from their connection with Britain were admitted alike by colonists and by Englishmen—alike by those who were in favour of preserving, and by those who were in favour of destroying, that connection; and that the only opponents to be encountered were those who denied that Britain derived benefit from the connection. Of this I do not complain; for I am not aware that until a very recent period anyone had undertaken to maintain that it would be better for the Colonies if they ceased to be members of the Empire. To attempt to prove that the connection was beneficial to them, might therefore have seemed somewhat like the conduct of an exorcist, who, having no evil spirit to get rid of, should first raise the devil in order subsequently to lay him. Within the present year, however, an article has appeared in *Fraser's Magazine*, the object of which is to show that while “Great Britain would almost certainly lose, and certainly would not gain, either power or influence or prosperity by disengaging herself from the Colonies,” “the disposition of the colonists to remain within the Empire is disinterested to the point of being gratuitously sentimental, seeing that their safety as well as their dignity would apparently be best consulted by their cutting the connection.”

The title of the article is, “Great Britain and her Colonies. By a Victorian.” I have not inquired nor been informed who the

writer may be, although there are certain passages in it which suggest to my mind a suspicion as to its authorship. No reader of "The Legend of Montrose" can have forgotten the visit paid by a person, passing as Murdoch Campbell, to Captain Dugald Dalgetty, when he is lying in a dark dungeon at Inverary Castle. In answer to various inquiries of the imprisoned soldier of fortune respecting the Marquis of Argyle, Murdoch Campbell assures him that the Marquis is the most open hand in Scotland, and as honourable a nobleman as breathes; when Dalgetty suddenly exclaims: "I never heard so much good of him before: you must know the Marquis well, or rather, you must be the Marquis himself!" Now, when I found in the article a very prominent place assigned to the grievances of Agents-General (of which you will hear presently), I instinctively reasoned in much the same fashion as did Dalgetty, and said to myself: "I never heard so much sympathy expressed for Agents-General before; he must know Agents-General well, or rather, he must be an Agent-General himself."

If the article had been written by some mere *litterateur*, who had no connection with the Colonies, it might perhaps be disregarded, as in that case it could not be supposed to afford any indication of the possible tendency of political thought in those communities; but as the writer is a Victorian who is evidently well acquainted with the history of the Colony, and apparently enjoys the confidence of Agents-General, it will probably be generally admitted that his opinions, irrespectively of the ability and literary skill with which he advocates them, should not be passed over unnoticed.

I should have been glad if the task of answering him had fallen into worthier hands than mine, lest if I fail in confuting his views, the failure should be attributed to the badness of the cause instead of to the weakness of the champion. I have, however, the satisfaction of knowing that in the discussion which will follow the reading of this paper, an opportunity will be afforded to others of bringing forward arguments which I may have overlooked, or of enforcing arguments which I may have handled with inadequate skill.

The article lays down two propositions—first, that the Colonies would best consult both their safety and their dignity by cutting the connection between themselves and the mother-country; and secondly, that any attempt to avert the disintegration of the Empire, by establishing a federation between Britain and the Colonies, is impracticable.

The first question, therefore, to be answered is this, Would the

Colonies be safer if they were independent communities? The writer asserts that the Colonies, if unconnected with Britain, would, from their remoteness, be unlikely ever to be involved in war, and would therefore, I presume, have no need to maintain fleets or armies. Now it is to be observed, in the first place, that whatever semblance of plausibility this argument may possess, it is applicable not to the Colonies at large, but merely to a single group of them, the Australasian. Our North-American Colonies are the next-door neighbours of a nation which possesses both fleets and armies; and it can scarcely be seriously argued that, while every state in Europe, from mighty Russia to little Belgium, thinks that as long as its neighbours are armed it cannot safely go unarmed, a Canadian statesman would be likely to propose to the Legislature of that country, when no longer a Colony but an independent commonwealth, that its militia should be disbanded, as there could be no apprehension of its neighbours desiring to annex it or take the smallest advantage of its being in a defenceless condition.

But it may be said that there are other Colonies besides the Australasian group which, being far removed from any other civilised community, would, if they were independent, be under no necessity of maintaining fleets and armies, such Colonies, for instance, as Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, South Africa, and the West Indies. It must, however, be borne in mind that in all these Colonies we have as the ruling class men of European origin, while the vast majority of the population is composed of coloured and, I think we may without arrogance say, inferior races. At present the supreme authority of Britain controls the men of both races. It restrains all injustice on the part of the whites towards the men of colour; it prevents the men of colour, as they would undoubtedly attempt to do, if they thought they safely might, from seizing all political power. Believing that our rule at present, whatever it may have sometimes been in the past, in India, Ceylon, and the West Indies is of inestimable benefit to the coloured inhabitants, I should consider any man as their real enemy who should do anything to disturb its foundations. What other races think of British rule is best proved by the history of such islands as Hong Kong and Singapore. In the former we find a small barren island, which, at the time of its cession to Britain, was inhabited only by a few handfuls of fishermen, now crowded with tens of thousands of Chinese, who have crossed from the mainland, because they knew that under British rule they would be free from oppressive taxation, would be governed by just laws, and would be able to carry on a thriving and profitable trade. And so in the once uninhabited

island of Singapore, we see a motley population attracted from China, the Malay Peninsula, and India by a similar cause. British rule, however, rests on physical power. Small as may be the military forces stationed in Hong Kong or the Straits Settlements, any resident in those Colonies well knows that if those forces were withdrawn anarchy would prevail. Without dwelling on the chance of a rising of the Chinese and other Asiatics against the Europeans, it is only a strong hand which prevents the various Chinese societies or factions from engaging in furious conflicts with each other. Even British authority has not always been able at once to suppress these disturbances, of the gravity of which a very inadequate idea is formed if they are described merely as riots.

But it may be said that as their military establishments are not on a great scale, these Colonies, if independent, would be able to maintain them on their present footing. Everyone, however, acquainted with the East will tell you that the native populations are kept in awe not merely by the soldiers whom they see, but by those who they know can be brought from a distance to the spot where their presence is required. There is no Chinese statesman who is ignorant of the fact that if his country were to attack Hong Kong, it would have to deal not with the scanty European population and the handful of troops stationed there, but with the whole resources of the British Empire.

Our Colonies in South Africa have upon their borders tracts of country inhabited by swarms of warlike savages—a fact which events now occurring serve to bring forcibly under our notice. By confederation—which will, I trust, ere long be not a scheme, but an accomplished fact—the dangers which threaten them from this quarter will, we may hope, be averted. Yet I believe all South African Colonists must derive a feeling of security from knowing that in case of any dire emergency they would look, and not look in vain, for military strength beyond that which their own soil could supply. In presence of a possible enemy on their own Continent, their thoughts at all events are not likely to dwell on the risk of some European enemy of England invading their country, which seems to weigh like a nightmare upon the writer in *Fraser's Magazine*.

^ If the West Indian Colonies were to be cursed with the gift of independence, there seems every probability—nay, almost a certainty—that one or other of two things (and it is difficult to say which alternative would be fraught with the more disastrous consequences) would follow: either the coloured race would exterminate or expel all persons of English blood, and Jamaica and her sister-islands would share the melancholy fate of

Hayti; or else the whites would suppress all attempts at insurrection, or even agitations which they might choose to consider were incitements to insurrection, with merciless severity, and hold sway over the blacks in a manner which, however in accordance it might be with the preachments of the Sage of Chelsea, would be at utter variance with that policy of equality for all its subjects, whatever the colour of their skin, which it has so long been the glory of this country to have pursued. That I am not indulging in conjectures which have no basis in fact will, I think, be admitted by anyone who will recall what took place in Jamaica in the time of Governor Eyre, or only a few months ago in Barbadoes. In the former Colony an insurrection broke out, which was speedily suppressed. For the severity with which he suppressed it, Mr. Eyre was recalled by the Colonial Office, but not before he had received the thanks of the Legislature of the island for his conduct; and no one can doubt that it was the opinion of that body if any error was committed in suppressing it, that the error was not committed on the side of undue severity. Again, it is evident that in Barbadoes the planters were in a state of panic, and under the influence of that panic would, if they, instead of Mr. Pope Hennessy, had been the persons to deal with the disturbances, have dealt with them in such a manner as to leave feelings of rankling animosity in the minds of the black population.

The West Indies, moreover, if independent, might have external as well as internal enemies; for they are not so far removed from the United States as to be free from all risk of annexation. We have all heard of filibusters in Nicaragua, and of the attempts of American citizens to excite revolts in Cuba as the first step towards raising the stripes and stars over that fertile island. The Bahamas approach the mainland more closely than does Cuba, and English-speaking Jamaica might be more easily absorbed into the American political system than Spanish-speaking Cuba.

As regards the Australasian Colonies, there may at first sight seem some plausibility in the assertion of the writer of the article, that their alliance with Britain may be a cause of danger, and cannot in any case conduce to their safety, since they have no enemies, actual or potential, within their own territories (as the native tribes in New Holland never have been, and those in New Zealand have ceased to be, formidable), and the immigrants from the United Kingdom and their descendants bear an overwhelming proportion to those who are of foreign origin, while they lie far remote from the countries which maintain large standing armies. But a very little reflection will show us that remoteness is not

↳ necessarily a cause of safety. If I were to ask a gentleman living in the country, who had told me that he kept a quantity of plate and some emeralds of great value, if he were not afraid of robbers, I should stare if he were to reply, "Oh, there's no fear of robbers, as there is not a house within several miles of mine, and I have not a man except myself in the house, so there is no one who could possibly rob me." Far away as Australia is, French and American merchantmen find their way there, and French and American men-of-war do not draw so much more water than the peaceful ships of commerce as to be unable to enter Port Jackson or Hobson's Bay.

✓ The teaching of history scarcely bears out the idea that war is impossible between countries which are widely separated. Britain went to war with the United States in 1812, not on any question connected with Canada or her other North-American Colonies, but on the question of the right to search United States' vessels on the high seas; while only a few years ago there seemed every prospect of those two countries becoming again engaged in hostilities, on account of the seizure of American citizens on board a British mail-steamer. Distance did not preserve the native rulers of India from having to encounter English soldiers, who had to make a voyage of many months' duration, and to round the Cape of Good Hope, before they came in presence of their dusky foes. The intervention of thousands of miles between Pekin and London and Paris did not save the Summer Palace of the Emperor of China from destruction. Its insignificance and its remoteness did not protect Tahiti against French interference; while, within the last few years, some wrongs, real or imaginary, suffered by the sons of France, have been avenged by the annexation of an extensive district on the shores of the China Sea. It is not so long ago that, on some frivolous pretext, Spain bullied more than one of the South American republics. Distant as Mexico is from France, we all remember that the latter country imposed a sovereign upon the former.

Bearing all these things in mind, the proposition that "the only war-risks the Australian Colonies can be exposed to *must* come from their connection with the mother-country," does not, I confess, appear to me—as it appears to the writer of the article—a self-evident truth, which requires merely to be stated and not to be proved. If "A Victorian" will recall to his mind the visit paid by the *Shenandoah* to Hobson's Bay, and the claims which arose out of it, he may be able to understand how easily one of the Australian republics that are to be—if his advice is followed—might, without any such

intention on its part, provoke the anger of a powerful State, which would, in substance, make use of the time-honoured formula, "Your money, or your life!"—that is, would offer the alternative of fighting, or paying a large sum as a *solatium*. As the quondam Colony which had believed the assurance of our author that as its connection with the mother-country was severed it could not possibly be exposed to any war-risks would not be so inconsistent as to pay the premium for insurance against a risk to which it was not exposed, it would have neither fleet nor army, and would be compelled to accept the latter alternative—that is, pay up. If it be true, as Mr. Trollope asserts, that the Australian is addicted to what is colonially known as "blowing"—*Anglicé*, bragging—it is hard to say whether the loss of fame involved in having to yield to threats, or "the loss of pence" would trouble him the most.

For the benefit of those who are not very well acquainted with the history of the Colony of Victoria, or have forgotten the claims urged by the United States before the arbitrators at Geneva, I may mention that during the Civil War in America the Confederate cruiser to which I have alluded put into Hobson's Bay for repairs, and was placed for that purpose in the Government dry-dock at Williamstown. The Governor of the Colony had the benefit of the advice of two Law Officers, Mr. Michie and Mr. Higinbotham (whose competency, I think, the writer of the article in *Fraser's Magazine* will scarcely venture to impugn), to guide him as to the mode in which that vessel should be treated, so that the Colony might strictly fulfil the obligations of neutrality. As it became known that the commander of the *Shenandoah* was seeking to enlist recruits, the Government took measures to prevent this violation of international law. Notwithstanding, however, it turned out that the commander had succeeded in eluding the police and shipping a number of hands, with whom he sailed away. The result was, that in the little bill which Brother Jonathan presented to John Bull for settlement figured some items, amounting to a very large sum, which were alleged to have been incurred at Melbourne. The arbitrators decided that, in this matter as in others, there had been a want of due diligence on the part of England in observing the duties of neutrality, and she was mulcted accordingly. Now, supposing Victoria had been, not a Colony, but an independent commonwealth, she—and not England—would have had to pay the damages. It is very probable that the Victorians would have insisted (and I, for one, will not say that they might not rightly have insisted) that the claim was an unjust one; but what could they have done? If they had no fleet or army, they must have

paid; and probably the United States would not have even so far gilded the pill as to go through the ceremony of submitting their claim to arbitration, but would have at once put in the sheriff's officers, in the shape of a frigate or two, to levy the money upon their debtor's goods and chattels.

But not only does "A Victorian" assert that Australia, if independent, would have no enemies against whom she would have any need to protect herself, he maintains—if I correctly apprehend his argument—that any protection which Britain may profess to afford her is little more than illusory; and he ridicules Lord Granville's assurance that "England would spend her last ship and her last shilling in defence of her Colonies" as "merely the rhetorical ornament of an after-dinner speech;" and is apparently inclined to think that a country "with a national debt of between seven and eight hundred millions hanging around her neck" cannot afford to spend money in defending her Colonies, and, moreover, that if Britain were to go to war it is very doubtful whether she would be able to find soldiers to fight for her. It would occupy too much time—and it is, I trust, moreover wholly unnecessary—to enter into any lengthy arguments to prove that if Britain should ever unfortunately be engaged in a great war she would not be deficient either in men to fight for her or in money to pay them. Suffice it to say, that large as our national debt is, the proportion which our taxes bear to the entire income of the nation is very much less now than it was when Britain was contending against half Europe in the early part of this century; and that it is hard to believe that while other nations can furnish hosts of defenders, we, who have far more reason for patriotic pride and far more to fight for, would be found wanting in our duty to our country in her time of need.

As to the difficulty in finding recruits for the Army (by no means one which may not be overcome), upon which the author of the article dwells at some length, I scarcely see the relevancy of the topic, for I apprehend no one ever supposed that the mode in which Britain would defend Australia in time of war would be by sending armies to the Antipodes. It would be by her ships that she would defend that country; and we hear little of any difficulty in manning the Navy. But it seems that for Australia to hope for protection from the British Navy would be as foolish as it is to believe that a debt-burdened country like Britain could support the expenses of a great war, or be able to find men willing to serve in her armies! As our author's argument in support of his contention on this point is embodied in a couple of sentences, I will, to avoid doing him injustice, set them out at length. They are as follows:—

“It cannot be forgotten that during the whole of the Crimean War there was no Imperial naval force of any account on the Australian station, and Melbourne was once almost frightened out of her wits by the arrival of the *Great Britain*, which, coming up the port at night, and firing an exultant broadside to celebrate her release from quarantine, the tens of thousands of Melbourne citizens rushed about the streets convinced that their town was about to experience the tender mercies of a Russian man-of-war. The Colonists heard nothing of last ships or of last shillings in those days; and even first ships, wherever they might be, were not then to be seen in the golden port of Melbourne.” This night of panic almost recalls to mind “the Irish Night,” in the time of the Great Revolution, when, on a rumour that Lord Feversham’s disbanded Irish troops were marching on London and massacring everyone they met, the drums of the militia beat to arms and the streets were barricaded, while women wrung their hands; until, after some hours, it was discovered that there were no Irish within a distance of a great many miles. I suppose it will not seriously be contended that the unfounded alarm of the citizens of Melbourne was any more evidence of remissness on the part of the British Government, than the unfounded alarm of the citizens of London was evidence of remissness on the part of the Prince of Orange. But what, I presume, is suggested is, that Australia was, in point of fact, left unprotected, and that a Russian man-of-war might as easily have fired a broadside in earnest in the port of Melbourne as the *Great Britain* fired off her unshotted guns. “A Victorian” appears to think that if there had been a British frigate in Hobson’s Bay, another in Port Jackson, and a third in Storm Bay, full in sight of the citizens of Melbourne, Sydney, and Hobart Town respectively, the British Navy would not have been (as it has since been called) a phantom Navy. But it seems not to have occurred to him that, just as the authorities at the Zoological Gardens find that it is preferable to keep the lions and tigers within their cages, instead of letting them roam at large, and stationing a guard of keepers around the visitors for their protection, so the Admiralty might be defending Australia in the most effectual manner by shutting up the Russian fleets at Sebastopol, Cronstadt, and Petropaulovski, instead of letting them roam over the ocean, and stationing a frigate at every port to which the double-headed eagle might be supposed likely to direct its course. So effectually did the British fleets do their work, that the only inconvenience which any Colony suffered from the fact that Britain was at war with Russia was a slight addition to the premium paid for insurance against marine risks.

I submit, therefore, that he has entirely failed to show that the Colonies would be *safer* if they were to set up as independent States.

Let us proceed to consider what foundation there is for his opinion that they would best consult their *dignity* by cutting the connection. I fully admit that it is not always the most substantial wrongs which rankle most in the minds, either of individuals or of communities. If it be true, as Mr. Bright asserted in the course of the discussion on the vote to defray the expenses of the Prince of Wales's visit to India, that Englishmen habitually treat the natives of that country with arrogance and contempt, it may well be that a sense of offended dignity will lead them to forget the impartiality with which justice is administered, the order which is maintained, the fairness of taxation, and the other benefits which they enjoy under British sway, and to long for the advent of rulers who may oppress, but will not despise them. In like manner, if it be true—as the writer of the article in *Fraser's Magazine* insinuates—that colonists are looked down upon because they are colonists, it will be in vain, if this impression once sinks into their minds, to dwell upon the security from foreign invasion, or the other material advantages which they derive from their connection with the mother-country. Resentment will win the day, and the Colonies flinging policy to the wind, will refuse to associate with a kingdom which despises them. I cannot, therefore, but admit that “A Victorian,” knowing well the feelings of colonists, would have acted wisely in urging as a ground for separation that which, perhaps, some persons at home who think that sentiment is not an element to be taken into account in political questions, may consider a matter of no importance, if only he had been able to support his views by facts. If the people of the United Kingdom despised the Colonies or colonists, it would be a circumstance fraught with evil omen for the permanency of the Empire; but when we come to ask what are the instances pointed out in the article in which the Colonies or colonists have been treated with disrespect, they seem so trivial, that I venture to think that the writer would have better served his cause if he had indulged in generalities, instead of “condescending to particulars,” as the Scotch lawyers say.

Of all the supposed indignities offered to colonists, “A Victorian,” as I have already observed, seems to feel most keenly those offered to Agents-General; but when we come to inquire into them, we find that they simply resolve themselves into this—that an Agent-General is not considered in the same light as the Minister of a foreign power, and therefore is not admitted to the diplomatic

circle of the Court of St. James's, and has not a seat assigned him in the diplomatic box in our Houses of Parliament. It seems also that it is only very recently that Agents-General have been received at Court; but as regards this last grievance, it was scarcely necessary, seeing that it has been redressed, to recall the time when an Agent-General, standing on a levee-day outside the railings of Buckingham Palace, might have compared himself to the Peri, who

" At the gate
Of Eden stood disconsolate."

Surely the argument that because Agents-General of Colonies are not received in the same manner as the ambassadors of foreign States, they and the Colonies whom they represent are looked upon with something approaching to contempt, proceeds on a prejudiced, I might almost venture to say a jaundiced, view of the real facts of the case. It is from no want of respect for him individually, or for the Colony to which he belongs, that an Agent-General is not treated with ceremony. He is considered, not as a stranger, but as one of the family.

The other grievances which are adduced as "almost justifying a suspicion that England is rather ashamed than proud of her Colonies," are of a character quite as unsubstantial as the supposed indignities offered to Agents-General. For instance, the complaint is made that ex-governors do not receive responsible home employment, the truth being that a Governor, like other persons, naturally looks for advancement in the particular branch of the public service which he has adopted, and he prefers obtaining another Governorship to home employment, in which he, who had so long been accustomed to command, would have to obey. The fact that pensions are awarded to ex-Governors, that the Governors of all our important Colonies invariably receive the honour of knighthood, and that services as a Governor have been rewarded by a peerage or by a step in the peerage, is surely proof that persons who have held public offices in the Colonies are not overlooked or despised.

Such are the arguments which lead the writer of the article to the conclusion that "separation from the mother-country, conformably with the experience of all ages, seems to be inevitable when the younger country, like a plum being sufficiently ripe, of itself shall fall from the parent tree." I may observe that making use of a comparison or a metaphor, not for the purpose of facilitating the comprehension of an argument already used, but as a substantial argument in itself, is no other than the fallacy of *petitio principii*, or assuming the very fact which has to be proved.

The comparison, if intended to pass as an argument, suggests the obvious retort that if the Colonies are to be compared to plums and the mother-country to the plum-tree, the plums ought to pray that they may ripen as slowly as possible, for the usual fate of a plum which falls to the ground is premature decay. If we must leave the region of argument to indulge in botanical fancies, I would compare the mother-country to the stem of an old oak-tree, and the Colonies to the branches. Long, long may the healthy sap circulate from the root to the minutest spray; but if ever tempest shall snap off one of the branches, or if some secret foe, gnawing away at the point of connection between the trunk and branch, shall cause the branch to fall, the tree may indeed be disfigured, but the branch will die.

Having thus endeavoured to deal with the arguments of "A Victorian," I will now proceed briefly to state what appear to me to be some of the principal advantages which the Colonies enjoy from their union with the mother-country. In the first place, the Imperial connection preserves unbroken peace between the mother-country and her Colonies, and between one Colony and another. Since our thirteen Colonies in North America proclaimed their independence, they have once been engaged in warfare with Britain, and once, if not more than once, war has seemed on the point of again being proclaimed. Nor did the fact of these revolted Colonies having been closely allied for nearly a century, prevent them from engaging in a bloody and destructive civil war. If any difference arises between British Colonies, they know that they have a friendly and impartial arbitrator to whom it may safely be referred. In the next place the Colonies feel that they are as safe from foreign aggression as is England herself, for every State knows that any outrage on a British Colony would be resented as if it were an outrage on an English county. These are the chief and crowning advantages which the Colonies derive from being members of the Empire, but there are others which are not to be despised. If the Colonies were to become independent States, each of them, or at least each confederated group of them, would have to bear the expense of maintaining a diplomatic and consular staff, not only in the United Kingdom but in every country with which this State or group of States had commercial intercourse. Englishmen emigrate more willingly to countries over which the English flag floats than they will to foreign shores; hence a declaration of independence by any Colony would check that supply of labour which is one of the chief wants of a new country. Many of the Colonies are large borrowers of

money for public works. It is very much to be doubted if they could borrow on as favourable terms if they were independent States, for "confidence is a plant of slow growth" in a capitalist's almost as much as it is "in an aged bosom," and he will not very readily accept the assurance that notwithstanding the change of style "the business will be carried on as before," or encourage the hope which may be expressed for "a continuance of past favours." Neither can I pass over as altogether valueless, the greater sympathy which, in spite of the assertions of "A Victorian," I believe exists between Englishmen and colonists than between Englishmen and foreigners (even if the latter should be of the same race as themselves), and the consequent interest which is taken in Colonial affairs, which naturally exercises a moral check upon the Colonies, as they know that their conduct is liable to be watched and keenly criticised in England. It is something too for a colonist to be aware that the highest places in the Empire are open to him, however little any individual colonist may think of himself attaining them. He knows that a member of one Colonial legislature and Government has risen to be First Lord of the Admiralty, and that a member of another legislative assembly has held the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that more than one returned Colonist has obtained a seat in the House of Commons. It appears to me a great advantage that the Colonies are spared the turmoil, demoralisation, and waste of time and money which are caused by presidential elections in the United States, and that they have as head of their community a person who not being the nominee of any party, acts towards all parties with impartiality, and can ensure what the American system fails to effect—that the legislature and the executive shall work in harmony. But the duties of a Governor are not merely of a political character, and some of the Colonies would not be slow to acknowledge the beneficial influence which the presence of a courteous, high-bred gentleman, accompanied by a wife of true English refinement and culture, has exerted over society. Lastly, the fact that an appeal lies from all Colonial tribunals to an Imperial Court of Appeal, furnishes a useful check upon local judicial eccentricity or neglect of duty, while it has a tendency to unity in the essential principles of jurisprudence throughout the Empire. And I may here fitly take this opportunity of correcting an erroneous assertion of the writer of the magazine, to the effect that the discontinuance of the Privy Council is already an accomplished fact in which he apparently hails as the first step towards the

tion of the Empire. Appeals may still be brought from Canada to the Privy Council, although a recent Colonial Act limits, whether wisely or unwisely it is unnecessary at present to consider, the right of bringing them.

In endeavouring to decide whether independence would be for the benefit of the Colonies, it may not be amiss to consider certain features in the history of England and of the United States. At the time when the War of Independence began, the character of public men in America would compare not unfavourably with that of the same class in England. Washington, and Franklin were statesmen whom no country need have been ashamed to own. Corruption had lately been rampant in the British House of Commons, and it continued to flourish in the Irish Parliament till that body was fortunately put an end to. Elections in England were scenes of violence and bribery. It is difficult to deny that in political morality America was then superior to England. Is it so now? On the testimony of Americans themselves, corruption has tainted the legislature, the judiciary, and the executive; their municipal corporations are nests of unclean birds, and their elections, if not turned by bribery in the ordinary sense of the word, are managed by professional politicians, who look to the spoils of office as the reward of their exertions. In this country who would venture to hint that ministers, judges, or members of Parliament can be bought? while corruption and rioting at elections, though not yet extinct, are utterly insignificant in their extent, when compared with what took place in the last century. The members of our local bodies, from the Corporation of the City of London to the humblest parish vestry, although they do not always escape censure or ridicule, are never charged with having unclean hands. If we find a decline in public virtue in America, and an advance in England, is it unreasonable to suppose that if England and what are now the United States had continued members of the same Empire, the people of the latter country, instead of looking upon the former as a rival and sometimes as an enemy; whose example and institutions were to be abhorred rather than imitated, would have had regard to the judgment which the mother-country would pass on their conduct, and that the tone of their political morality / might thus have been elevated?

If I should be told that the evils which have developed themselves in the United States are only such as might naturally be expected to arise in a new country, and would have equally arisen if those communities still formed portions of the Empire, I would reply, that we find that from most of them our Colonies are wholly

free. In no Colony has it been ever whispered that justice is a purchasable commodity. No Colony has repudiated its debt. Again, although the circumstances of California and Victoria during the early gold discoveries were nearly identical, yet, as Bishop Perry well pointed out in the paper which he recently read before the Institute on the progress of that Colony, lynch law, which was at one time so prevalent in the former country, was absolutely unknown in the latter. And why? Because the people of Victoria knew that if a criminal were once lodged in goal, no sheriff or other official could be bribed to release him, and that when he was brought to trial his friends could not slip a coin into one of the scales of justice to turn the balance in his favour.

In Australia the same degree of liberty is enjoyed as in the United States, but the people of Australia have not weakened the principle of authority, of which in every British dominion the Sovereign or his representative has ever been the symbol and embodiment.

I shall now attempt to answer the second proposition for which "A Victorian" contends—namely, that any attempt to avert the disintegration of the Empire by establishing a federation between Britain and her Colonies is impracticable. I am not one of those (if, indeed, there are any such) who maintain that federation is a pressing and immediate want. On the contrary, I believe that the present constitution of the Empire, under which the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland makes such laws of Imperial application as are required, and the Ministry which is responsible to that Parliament undertakes Imperial duties—faulty as that constitution may be in theory—may well remain unchanged for a considerable period. There are perhaps a few extreme politicians in some of our Colonies—at all events, I know of one such politician in one of our Colonies—who consider that it is an act of usurpation for a Minister, responsible to the Parliament of the United Kingdom, to charge himself with any duties which do not relate to the affairs of that kingdom. But in an empire there must be Imperial legislation and acts of Imperial administration, and in the absence of a true Imperial Parliament and Executive, the Parliament and Executive of the United Kingdom are the only bodies by whom Imperial duties can be undertaken; and so long as the Colonies do not contribute towards the expense of Imperial administration, but leave it to be entirely defrayed by the people of the United Kingdom, they have no ground of complaint; for, according to the

old saying, "He who pays for the piper has a right to call for the tune."

The advocates of Imperial federation, because they admit that federation is not one of the wants of the day, are sometimes sneered at as theorists who trouble themselves unnecessarily about the future. I protest, however, against their being called theorists because they look forward to the future and propose a plan by which, when the Colonies shall possess—as, it is certain, in the course of a generation or two they will possess—a population not inferior in numbers to the present, and possibly even to the then, population of the United Kingdom, the union between them and the mother-country may be preserved; while those who equally look forward to the future, but, having no plan to suggest, can do nothing but predict that the dissolution of the union is inevitable, are to be considered as practical men.

Let it also be borne in mind that we live in an age in which it is more and more becoming the case that what was but yesterday the dream of the philosopher is to-day the policy of the statesman, and will be to-morrow the law of the land.

"A Victorian" tells us that "to attempt to bring the affairs of the antipodes under a Parliament at St. Stephen's is an attempt to melt distance into proximity;" but his observations have no force when directed against those who propose that the local affairs of the antipodes should be dealt with only at the antipodes. He forgets also that the telegraph-wire, which has been extended to the antipodes, has practically melted distance into proximity. It is the nerve which conveys instantaneously the sensations of the most distant member to London, the brain of the Empire.

The union between the mother-country and her Colonies could not, under the present constitution of the Empire, endure for ever; and that for two reasons—first, because, as "A Victorian" points out, the Colonies will become dissatisfied with having no voice whatever in England's foreign policy, which may be fraught with the most momentous consequences to them; and, in the next place, because the people of the United Kingdom will by and by naturally inquire why colonists bear no part of the burden of maintaining the Navy, which defends every portion of the Empire, or of other expenditure for Imperial purposes. There was justice in the claim of the British Parliament that the Colonies of North America should bear a portion of the expenses of a war which had not been waged for the sake and in defence of Britain alone. Where it erred was in asserting that the representatives of what was merely a portion of the Empire had a right to tax another portion, which they did not represent.

The author of the article in *Fraser's Magazine* first fathers two fanciful theories upon the Federalists, and then falls with much vigour upon them, and, like Falstaff with the men in buckram, thoroughly demolishes them; but, as to the only system which Federalists have ever advocated, he acts upon the spirit of the advice which Dogberry gave to the Watch, for he "takes no note of it, but lets it go," and probably "thanks God that he is rid of a" difficulty. "One favourite plan of the Federalists," says our author, "is the representation of the Colonies in the House of Commons." Whoever may have advocated such a plan, he was certainly not a Federalist. As the very essence of Federalism is that each local legislature, whether it be the legislature of the United Kingdom or of a Colony, shall have the exclusive right of dealing with the local affairs of the community which it represents, a Federalist could not with any consistency propose that Colonists should be sent from the antipodes to take part in such purely local questions as occasionally occupy the attention of the British Parliament—such as the removal of the flower-beds on the borders of the Serpentine, or the alteration of the road at Hyde-park Corner.

Neither is the second plan, which "A Victorian" asserts has been put forward by Federalists—that, namely, of seating a few colonists at some council, advocated by those who think that in the future, questions will arise of greater Imperial moment than that of the best mode of satisfying the vanity of some little knot of persons who would like to read after their names, in addition to or in lieu of M.P., some other letters of the alphabet, even if they signified nothing more than that the men of letters had the right to give advice which was not required and would not be followed.

Federation of the Empire necessarily implies a union of all the members of it for Imperial purposes—first and foremost among which is the defence of the Empire by sea and land. The Federal Assembly must therefore necessarily have the power of authoritatively determining in what proportion Britain and the various Colonies should contribute towards that defence; and a body whose functions should be limited to merely offering advice would be scarcely more dignified or useful than those impotent bodies, the Convocations of the Provinces of Canterbury and York. To this Federal Assembly Britain and her Colonies should send representatives, on equal terms, in proportion to their population. By whom these representatives should be elected is a point on which, I believe, Federalists differ. If I may express my own opinion, it is that they should be appointed and be removable by the Governments of Britain and the various Colonies or confede

rated groups of Colonies ; for, under any other system, a Colony might find that its representative in the Federal Assembly was following a line of policy opposed to the wishes of a majority of the Colonial Legislature, and I can conceive no circumstance which would put a greater strain upon the Federal system. Thus, suppose that a majority of Conservatives were returned to the Federal Assembly by Britain while a Conservative Ministry held office, and that after a general election for Britain, at which a majority of Liberals were returned, the Conservative Ministry was turned out, the Liberal Government and majority would submit with impatience to see Britain still represented by a Conservative majority in the Federal Assembly.

“ A Victorian ” has taunted the Right Hon. Mr. Forster with having declined in his speech at Edinburgh to submit any propositions as to the way in which a federation of the Empire was to be formed, and has expressed his opinion that Mr. Forster so declined, because he felt that the difficulties in the way were so great that he would rather not deal with them. But Mr. Forster may have considered that he was somewhat in the position of a partner who is endeavouring to persuade his co-partner that the premises in which the partnership business is carried on are insufficient, and that it will be necessary to build, and who thinks that until the question, whether or not there is to be a new building is decided, it is premature to consider what style of architecture shall be adopted.

Probably the army, which would be under the direct control of the Executive responsible to the Federal Assembly, would, at all events in time of peace, be small. The Federal Assembly might determine that every country or colony should raise a military force in proportion to its population, and having laid down the general principles for the regulation and discipline of those forces, might safely, to a great degree, leave the carrying out of the details to the separate governments. I am advocating nothing which has not been found practicable elsewhere. Thus the troops of Bavaria have their own distinctive uniform, and are local troops in time of peace, though during war they are at the disposal of the German Empire. Even the Imperial Navy might be to a considerable extent localised. The Navy, besides being our most formidable weapon in time of war, has important duties to discharge in keeping the police of the seas. The contribution of the African Colonies towards the support of the Imperial Navy might to some extent consist in supplying cruisers for the suppression of the slave trade. Hong Kong and the Straits Settlements might be charged with the prevention of

piracy on the eastern coast of Asia ; the Australian Colonies might be required to superintend the carrying out of the Imperial laws regulating the emigration of Polynesian labourers, and I doubt not that suitable local employment might be found for a branch of the Imperial Navy closely associated with the Dominion of Canada.

If a statesman, when his country is engaged in war, succeeds in inducing some other country to become her ally, his services are considered not less meritorious than those of the general who has won a battle. What praise will not the statesman justly earn who shall inaugurate a policy which will for ever secure to England faithful allies in every quarter of the globe ? Remembering that the population of the United States has risen in a century from three to forty millions, who will venture to say that the alliance of our Colonies will not, even fifty years hence, be all important to Britain ? In such an alliance I see, as I have said on another occasion, the potentiality of empire beyond the dreams of ambition.

Defence, however, will not be the only matter with which a Federal Assembly will have to deal. Upon it must devolve all those Imperial duties which, in the absence of a true Imperial Parliament and Executive, are at present discharged by the British Parliament and Ministry. The erection of new Colonies, whether by the occupation of new territory or by the separation of part of an existing Colony, the confederation of Colonies, the extradition of criminals, the punishment of offences committed on the high seas, the regulation of the mercantile marine, and the establishment of a Court of Appeal from the Colonies, are some of those matters which would fall within the jurisdiction of an Imperial Assembly. There are other subjects upon which it is more than probable that the Governments of Britain and the Colonies might in course of time request the Imperial Assembly to legislate. The framing of a commercial code applicable to the whole Empire is a task which might well be entrusted to such a body.

As Britain will long, if not always, be superior in wealth and population to any one Colony, or even group of Colonies, she will be the country in which the sittings of the Federal Assembly will take place ; and there is no more reason why the foremost men in the British Parliament should not have seats in that body, than there is why the members of local bodies, which have a limited legislative and executive jurisdiction, should not have seats in the House of Commons, which, as we all know, invariably numbers some mayors or aldermen among its members. So in the Colony of New Zealand, the superintendents of provinces have often seats in the General Assembly.

Imperial Federation is in no way inconsistent with the federation of a group of Colonies. On the contrary, it would be much easier to arrange with a Federation, such as is the Dominion of Canada, than with a number of insignificant Colonies, to which the idea of any kind of Federation was wholly novel.

Surely the prospect of rising up "from high to higher," of becoming a member first of the Legislature of his own Colony, then of the Legislature of the confederated group to which his Colony belongs, and finally of the Imperial Assembly, is one which may satisfy the ambition of the most ambitious colonist, and lead him to despise the teaching of those who tell him that the Colonies will best consult their dignity by cutting the connection with Great Britain. The colonist is "a citizen of no mean" Empire. It is one whose flag floats in every ocean, and whose dominions lie alike

"Where fur-clad hunters wander amidst the northern ice ;

Where, through the sand of morning land, the camel bears the spice."

In the article to which I have made such frequent reference, it is almost hinted that the power and prosperity of England, if they are not already, will soon be on the wane ; but I fail to trace any symptoms of her decay. What stranger ever sailed for the first time up the Thames or the Mersey without gazing with wonder on the forest of masts, and instinctively feeling that he was entering a country to which had been given the empire of the seas ? The thick clouds of smoke that hang over such cities as Birmingham, Manchester, and Sheffield are the signs of the workshop of the world. In the display of stock and implements at our shows will be found proofs that more capital and science are devoted to agriculture in England than in any other country. If our Army is small, compared with the overgrown hosts of the Continent, it is thoroughly disciplined ; our arsenals turn out cannons on each of which the labour of months has been expended ; while money, science, and mechanical skill have done their utmost to render our ironclads irresistible and indestructible by an enemy. If fortunately of late years Englishmen have been but little called on to display their courage in warfare, the names of Livingstone and of Cameron, and the story of the Arctic Expedition, are sufficient evidence that in unconquerable determination and heroic endurance, which surely are the qualities by which victories are won, the sons of Britain are inferior to none.

In all that Britain possesses, every subject of the Empire, although he lives beyond the seas, may feel a just pride. It belongs to his fellow-countrymen. Shall the Colonist, as he is invited to do, renounce the right of feeling patriotic exultation at

the national achievements, and sink into being merely the citizen of an obscure and, perhaps, petty state? If England may well be proud of her Colonists, who have carried civilisation into the pine forests of North America and the wilds of Australia, have bridged the mighty St. Lawrence, have covered with the habitations necessary to shelter well-nigh a million of civilised human beings of our own blood a province in which within the memory of men still of middle age no white man dwelt, and have placed in telegraphic union with England those fair islands which were once the scene of cannibal orgies, the colonists have no less reason to be proud of England. Whether the union between the mother-country and her Colonies is more beneficial to her or to them is a question which it would be ungracious to ask, and which it would, perhaps, not be easy to answer. Suffice it that the great bulk of the people of the Empire, whether they live in Britain or beyond the seas, believe, in spite of all that is said to the former of the expense which they might save, and to the latter of the risks which they might avoid, by severing the connection, that it is a connection which is the source of strength and prosperity to both. May it endure for ever!

DISCUSSION.

MR. STRANGWAYS said it was important not to let the discussion die out. Their thanks were due to Mr. Wood for the excellent paper read. He had very lucidly placed before them the benefits which the Colonies derived from their connection with England, and the advantages accruing to the latter from her association with the Colonies. He believed that in Australia, where he had opportunities of knowing from the position he held out there, occasions did arise—more frequently than people not behind the scenes were aware of—when the Imperial intervention, or rather, not the actual Imperial intervention so much as the knowledge that that intervention could take place, prevented quarrelling and bickering between neighbours. He believed that it was not at all unlikely, if all the Colonies were independent of the control of Great Britain, that some question would soon arise between them; and, as had been written of one's neighbours in a nearer locality, they would be found—

“ Fighting like devils for conciliation,
And hating one another for the love of God.”

Something of that kind had been seen in the North-American Provinces, where one British Province demanded “Lord Carnar-

von's terms, or separation." Well, Lord Dufferin went amongst them and made things sweet; he did not do much good, but he did the indirect good of preventing overt action being taken, and letting the people, by public speaking and writing, blow off that superfluous steam which, but for some safety-valve of that kind, would undoubtedly cause an explosion. And instances of a like kind might be multiplied in the Australian Colonies, if there were any necessity for doing it. It had been put forth in the paper read that the Colonies derived a great deal of advantage from the protection afforded by the Imperial army and navy. He was in Australia at the time of the Crimean War, and remembered the scare alluded to by Mr. Wood taking place. Volunteers were called out, were paid six to ten shillings a day for their services, and besides, in discharge of their duties they burnt enormous quantities of powder and drank copious draughts of beer. (Laughter.) That was the only practical good that resulted from it; and they were content to take such an interesting and effectual means of defending themselves, because they knew perfectly well that the Imperial navy had taken the necessary steps to prevent any Russian vessels from coming down there to attack them. With regard to the advantages derived from the fact that all the Colonies could appeal to the Privy Council, he hoped that if any measure should be brought before the Imperial Parliament—and a Permissive Bill had passed the Parliament to enable the Queen to do away with that right of appeal to the Privy Council—every exertion would be made to maintain the right, and that the appeal should not be allowed to be relegated to any other Court constituted in this country. (Hear, hear.) For he was satisfied that although it might be said to be a mere matter of theory, it nevertheless was one of those points of sentiment in which "A Victorian" was right when he said that sentiment did a great deal in keeping up the connection between the Queen and her Colonies. It was the knowledge of the right that he could appeal to the Queen in Council that tended more than anything to maintain that Imperial connection. In making a few remarks on the other side of the question, he believed those were right who held, that although the Colonies derived great benefit from their connection with the British Empire, the latter derived a far greater benefit from her connection with the Colonies. Taken as a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence, what could England do with her surplus population? Look at the hundreds of thousands of square miles of surplus territory whereto her surplus population might go. Her population at this moment was so large that the whole produce of England was not sufficient to feed

them, and more than two-fifths of the food of this country had to be imported from abroad. Now when these people go to the Colonies they grow food for themselves, and send over to this country that which they do not require for their own consumption, to feed the people of this country upon. More than that, every ordinary day-labourer, for every shilling he gets in this country, receives, for the same amount of work, at least several shillings, and a large proportion of the goods he consumes or uses up—such as machinery, clothes, and other articles—are manufactured in this country, and the people who remain behind have a larger amount of work afforded to them in order to supply those who have gone abroad and become better customers. He put it in another way. Some persons perhaps might have had something to do with Turks and Egyptians. Some may have found that they had been investing their money in what were termed “Foreign Securities.” He saw in a periodical recently that someone who was thinking of going abroad had asked what he could do with his securities; could he dispose of them in the Colonies? The answer was, “Oh, no; better get rid of them here for what they will fetch!” Those who had so speculated had burnt their fingers, and there were very few who would not have been glad if they had had nothing to do with them. But these Colonial Governments as borrowers of capital had borrowed tens of millions, and would borrow more, whilst there had not been an instance in the case of the Colonies up to the present time where the interest on the borrowed money had not been paid to the day that it was due. (Hear, hear.) He would say to all those English men and women who have more money than they know what to do with, and are seeking an investment for it, let them lend it to the Colonies, which give both a sound security and a better interest than they can expect for it in this country. (Hear, hear.) There was another view of the question, which was that war might break out, and the question was sometimes put, almost with a tremulous voice, “If it did, could England protect her Colonies?” He asserted that the day was not far distant when that question would be altered, and it would not be, “Could England protect her Colonies,” but “Would the Colonies protect England?” They might differ; but it was no wild hallucination on his part, it was no insane idea. He declared there were people yet living in this country who would see the day when England may not have to defend her Colonies, but the Colonies may be called upon to defend England. (Hear, hear.) Many may perhaps have heard sometime or other the old Cornish cry—

“ And shall Trelawny die ?
Then forty thousand Cornishmen
Shall know the reason why.”

That might be altered at some future time when a neighbouring country of Europe may consider it has a sacred mission to extirminate its neighbours in the Circassian style. Then perhaps the Colonies may come forward to defend England ; and when you have ten millions of people in Canada, the same number in the Australian Colonies, and ten or twenty millions scattered about in other great possessions, the cry will not be then, “ Can England defend her Colonies ? ” The cry will be—

“ And shall Old England die ?
Then forty million colonists
Will know the reason why.”

When that day shall come—and it will come sooner than was thought—old John Bull may array himself in his best top-boots, whilst he looks around with pride and satisfaction on his stalwart offspring, and modestly whistles “ Rule Britannia.” (Cheers.)

Lieutenant-Colonel DENISON, from Canada, said it was not the first occasion that he had had the opportunity of addressing the members of the Royal Colonial Institute. He looked upon it as a matter of great pride that he had been elected a Fellow of that Institute, because the motto of the Institute was a United Empire. That familiar term “ United Empire ” might be known to a great many people on this side of the Atlantic ; but in Canada they were household words, and those who traced their descent from civilised England, who left that country, carried with them nothing but allegiance to the British Crown into the wildernesses of Canada. The gentleman whose article the lecturer had answered had said that sentiment had a great deal to do with the question of keeping together the Colonies under the protection of the Empire. That he quite agreed with, although, of course, there were a great many other arguments that might be adduced on the subject. It had struck him that such a question as the separation of the Colonies from England could never be more fairly considered or discussed by members of any other Colony than Canada, for he considered that its position was different from that of almost every other Colony in the Empire, because in Canada there was opposite to them, on the frontier, nearly three thousand miles long, a hostile people. And they had been obliged in Canada, in nearly every generation—not on account of any quarrels between the people in Canada and the United States, but on account of the Imperial questions—to take up their rifles to defend their firesides. In the war of 1812 the British Government held the right to search ships upon the high

seas. It was a question that Canadians had no interest in ; but as soon as ever the people of the United States declared war against England, the people of Canada took up arms in that quarrel, which was none of their choosing—cheerfully took down the old rifles which had been used in the previous war, and went out to the frontier to defend their country. Then, again, in the time of the Oregon difficulty. That, he admitted, was a dispute which it might be said was with Canada, because it was about giving up Canadian territory. At the time of the *Trent* affair there was every possibility of their being engaged in war, nearer than they ever were before. It was the case of a ship upon the seas that had been boarded thousands of miles from Canada ; but there was not one single man in Canada who faltered, or said, “Let us cut the connection ;” and every man was willing in Canada to take up arms and fight in the British quarrel, because the same old flag that had floated over their fathers’ heads had been dishonoured. Then, again, in the time of the Fenian business it was exactly the same thing. The Canadians were ordered to defend their frontier against Fenian filibusters, and they bravely marched to meet them, and the enemy decamped. Now he could understand such an idea being brought up in Canada, because really they had been practically two or three times upon the very verge of war on account of the connection with England’s quarrels, with which they had had nothing to do. But no cry had been heard from Canada on the score of Independence ; and when he heard from the lecturer about the way Agents-General were treated, and the article-writer suggested such a paltry question was to break up the British Empire, he was amazed. Canada had had an Agent-General for a little while, but found she got on better without one. And she would go without a great many more rather than break up the connection with the Empire. There was another point, when the material advantages were considered. He stood there as much a British subject as any man in the room. He considered himself as much a subject of the Queen as if he had been born in Windsor Castle ; and when he went on to the Continent of Europe he could hold his head up and say he was a British subject ; but if Canada were separated he would not be. All the British Ambassadors in every city, all the Consuls in every port, representatives of England’s power and greatness, were Canada’s representatives as much as they were of any country. (Hear, hear.) They got all the benefit of that, and it did not cost them a single farthing. That was a material advantage. Then, again, as to the navy of England. Canada of to-day was either the third or the fourth mercantile

marine power, and her vessels were found upon almost every sea. Yet they had no navy, because that of England protected every vessel, and the Consuls all look after the vessels when they go into ports. Those were all material advantages obtained quite irrespective of any question of sentiment. He was sorry there should be any necessity to have such a question discussed at all. He would rather it was the feeling of everybody in all the extremities and in every part of the world that it was for their interests that they should be all united together in one whole. (Hear, hear.) And he felt that the influence of the Royal Colonial Institute in bringing together gentlemen from every part of the world who happen to be in London, in order that they might express their brotherly sentiments, was highly conducive to the interests of the Colonies. He should go back to Canada carrying with him an idea greater, if possible, than ever of the immense extent, power, and resources of the British Empire. As a Canadian, he would say a word or two to his fellow-colonists: "If you cut the connection with England, what are you going to do? you cannot help yourselves, except to establish a Republic." Now he had lived all his life by the side of a Republic, had watched closely the proceedings of that Republic, and he was pleased to hear the clear and lucid way in which the reader dilated upon the corruption that was rife in every part of the United States and throughout every part of their political system. He attributed that to the fact of their being a Republican Government. Monarchy preserves a higher government; it gives one that is not based upon the possession of wealth alone, but of purity and integrity, the absence of which had sapped the very vitals of their national honour in America. (Cheers.)

Mr. PATERSON, member of the Legislative Assembly of the Cape of Good Hope, said he scarcely came there to take part in the discussion, of which, if he understood its objects, it was not altogether to eulogise everything that had been said that evening, but if there are any points which are weak, or seem weak, to bring these points as much as possible before the assembly, that it may correct what may appear to be a little faulty, or to bring the able lecturer to the test of strengthening some positions which he did not seem to have made so strong as others. With the first portion of the lecture he could find no fault. He thought the positions taken up were incontestable. There was not a colonist who did not feel the immense advantages accruing to the Colonies from their connection with the mother-country. But when the lecturer proved how many those advantages were, and when everyone in the assembly assented to his proof, did he not seem to make the second portion of his lecture

almost unnecessary? It did not seem to him very logical first to set forth how great the advantages were, and how strong the ties of connection—nay, that these ties were being strengthened year by year with time—and then to jump to the conclusion that they were all one day to snap asunder; and to provide against this assumed calamity a dreamy Imperial Federation was suggested. It seemed to him to be made clear that under the existing connection larger advantages were being derived than any portion of the Empire could, perhaps, derive from any other form of connection with the mother-country. There was a living brotherhood of nations at the present time in the Colonial Empire under the mother-country, not with the thing called an Imperial Federation, which, in his opinion, would very soon beget much more trouble than benefit. We have at this time nearly all the advantages that were desired. Do we desire pure justice? there was the machinery of an appeal to the Queen in Council. Do we desire protection? there it was, as it had always been. Sometimes threats would be heard as against South Africa, that it must help itself; but in the time of trouble the protection came early and promptly. He did not think that if they had a Federal Parliament in the mother-country that matters would move so gently as they did at the present moment. He could imagine well that a gentleman from Canada would have a great deal to say for the protection of his country, and that a gentleman from South Africa would say, “You are disposed to take more than your share.” He believed it was better left in the hands of the present impartial Parliament than it would be in that Imperial Parliament which was sometimes longed for. He was satisfied that the first part of the lecture threw a great deal of discredit on the Federation idea. They did not create institutions where things moved without institutions. They did not want to create institutions with things moving so beneficially as they were doing now. They only desired to create institutions when there were things to be put right, and evils suppressed, or wrongs to redress. But there was no cry for that. The cry throughout that assembly was: “How happy we are! What a happy family of communities we are!” And would they disturb that by bringing forward an institution and a thing providing not for evils, but for that which had been already well worked? Therefore, those who would continually rejoice in the Colonial Empire and their connection with the mother-country, and would feel the benefit coming from it—which benefit was given without any expenditure on its part—were crying for nothing. His advice was, Do not disturb that order of things by seeking after fantastic things, and such as would not be prac-

tical. They had better leave things as they were than seek after those new ties between the mother-country and the Colonies, which, he believed, would be repulsive rather than attractive. After hearing such an able lecture from Mr. Wood, it seemed almost ungracious to challenge anything he said; and he only challenged it because in his own lecture he seemed to challenge it. He had proved in his own lecture that there was nothing wanting; and then in the second part of his lecture, as if there was something to be redressed or faulty, he proposed a scheme of redress. Therefore he (Mr. Paterson) thought the two points of the lecture were, in that respect, inconsistent. These remarks were thrown out simply to help discussion at the present time. He did not think that the coming to the meeting for the purpose of eulogising everything was beneficial, and for that reason he had challenged the remarks.

Mr. ROBINSON, M.L.C., of Natal, said he had not expected to address so distinguished an audience as the present; and, perhaps, owing to the fact that he was in this country in conjunction with Mr. Akerman, and associated with him in a responsible political mission of a confidential character, it would be rather unbecoming in him to enter into any discussion on Confederation as referred to in the paper. Seven years ago he read a paper before that Institution, very shortly after its inauguration. At that time he approached Colonial subjects under great difficulties, the subject of the Colonies and colonisation being in a different position to what it now was. He hardly dare get on his legs then, as he did, to support the cause of the colonists, or to endeavour to represent to his countrymen that they were perhaps more worthy of attention and consideration than they were then receiving. But how different was the position now! He had now returned to his country after seven years' absence, and found the heartiest interest taken in those affairs. He found that the colonists and their works and mission were regarded as being essentially a part of the great Imperial interests of Britain, a change which might greatly be attributed to the action of that society. In the second place, he begged permission to thank the lecturer for the able paper he had delivered. As a colonist, he felt that there was an immense amount of truth in what had been said. He had expressed ideas which had been over and over again in his (Mr. Robinson's) mind. He agreed with Mr. Paterson that there were some points of the address on which he might not seem disposed to come to entire agreement with him. He did not think at all times that Colonial matters had received from the people in this country that fair

treatment which perhaps was not altogether, from the Colonial point of view, to be desired. He could call to mind one passage in the history of Natal in which he thought there was an absence of impartial opinion in this country, and of fair and candid treatment. But, of course, great allowance must be made for the fact that people at home could not be as well informed as the colonists themselves of all the circumstances attending events. He did ask, however, that when circumstances occurred in distant Colonies, in which public opinion at home may be inclined to censure the action of colonists abroad, critics should wait and pause well, and endeavour, as far as they can, to hear the other side before they indulge in what they may find to have been premature and unjustifiable condemnation. (Hear, hear.) As regarded the value of the Imperial connection to the colonists of England, he did not think there was any difference of opinion throughout the breadth of the Colonies. He was sure they looked upon that connection as one great safeguard for the future. It was an anchor that held them to all that was substantial and enduring. The gentleman who represented Canada had referred to the fact that there seemed to be a disposition on the part of certain colonists to be Republican. As regarded his own part of the world—the not very well known, and, perhaps, somewhat indifferently judged country of South Africa—he might inform that gentleman that, so far from the people endeavouring to become Republican, they were very anxious indeed to induce certain neighbouring Republics to become Imperial. Whether they would succeed or not, he could not say. In the cause of general peace and security, and in the interest of the British Colonies at large, they should endeavour to accomplish it. They had endeavoured to work out the problem of Federalism; and it seemed to him, from the remarks of Mr. Paterson, that if it was so desirable on the part of groups of British Colonies to enter into Federation, it was not unreasonable to suppose it possible that in years to come, when events have changed on a larger scale, it may be found not only necessary, but absolutely essential for the maintenance of the Imperial Empire to establish a federative connection throughout the Colonial Empire. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. WESTGARTH was sorry, after the repeated attentions paid to Agents-General, that no one of them had come forward to answer Mr. Wood. He had listened with pleasure to the paper read for one good reason—that he, generally speaking, agreed with all that had been stated. The writer of the magazine article, to which the reader so much alluded, was now only one in a thousand. He (Mr. Westgarth) thought that that view of the matter—that it would be

better for the colonists to quit the mother-country if they desired to do so—had been an exploded and decided question, and quite put an end to long since. There was a very good instance of the loyalty of colonists in the room. He believed that one great means of bringing out public opinion on this subject was those meetings that attracted so much attention, called the Cannon-street meetings, which were accused of being somewhat turbulent and noisy, but which, he thought, did good service in that particular by bringing out Colonial loyalty. Mr. Wood had alluded to the advantages to the Colonies and the mother-country, and *vice versa*; and in particular he mentioned that if the countries were separated, the labour that goes out there would cease, or would be very much restricted, and that our money, which flows so freely there from this country at moderate rates of interest, would not go so plentifully. That connection between the Colonies and the mother-country in trade, to which had been given a very concise and suitable expression that the trade follows the flag, was a most important consideration with regard to the Colonial connection. He spoke as one who feels very strongly the benefits to the Colonies of the connection, and who believes that there was no occasion to fix any termination to it at all. The doctrine of trade following the flag was disputed by the Manchester School as a thing that had no existence in Economics. He confessed himself to be a thorough disciple of the Manchester School; and yet this matter of the flag had to him a most real existence both in our sentiment and our real nature. He would put the case negatively, and point out three obstructions in foreign trade which the Colonial trade had not: there was the foreign element, which has its repelling effect; and there was the different language, and the different money and weights and measures. Now, these three differences may be considered to be the whole that are involved in the doctrine of the flag, and a very plain matter they are, and not at all inconsistent with the doctrine of Free Trade. He did not agree with the paper read in the sweeping condemnation of the United States. He thought that to speak of the election of the head of one of the greatest nations in the world as a sort of botheration, and the duty of electing such a man an expense and interruption to business, as a view which would make Americans stare at us. There was no doubt they had a bad way of doing this and some other things. The fundamental difference between England and the United States was this, that the whole people there are middle class, and the whole people come to the front in political thought and action. Mr. Paterson had said that Federation was not wanted, and that

it would do harm if it came about. His view was that the more effective unity of the Empire required never could come in that way, as we do not do things by revolution in this country. Only conceive the Houses of Lords and Commons instituting a Parliament that would supersede them, and shut them out of their lofty duties, and sink them down almost into vestry matters! Such a thing was impossible. He thought they must by degrees see the necessity and advantage of bringing in the Colonies. They are held together by sentiment, and it was required of them to be held by some sort of representation in our own Parliament which would make that Parliament, which was that of Great Britain and Ireland only, a Parliament of the Empire; and his idea was that, if we could gradually make a beginning in that respect, it would be a very good thing—it would grow by degrees, and supply what was a great want.

Mr. ABRAHAM HYAMS, of Jamaica, felt nervous in addressing so large and influential an assembly, particularly as it had been his privilege for the first time that evening to attend one of the gatherings of the Royal Colonial Institute. Indeed, he would not have ventured to say anything, but that he came from one of the oldest of the Colonies, not now, perhaps, one of the most important, but one, nevertheless, which he believed still held a large portion of English sympathy with all that relates to its well-being. He was a native of Jamaica, and therefore whatever he said he asked that it might be accepted as the collected results of his knowledge of, and experience in, the island. He had listened with interest to the able paper read that evening, and he had paid close attention to the remarks of Mr. Strangways and Mr. Westgarth, who had both spoken so well in reference to the reciprocal interests of the union of the mother-country and her Colonies, as that it was hardly necessary for anyone connected with the Colonies to say anything more. There were one or two things in the paper read which he hoped Mr. Wood would be persuaded to modify or leave out altogether. He referred, in the first place, to the allusions to the United States of America. He knew something of the American people and their institutions, and he thought that England, as a nation which had arrived at so high an elevation and commanded so proud a position among the nations of the earth, could afford most generously to be indulgent to those who were her offshoots and who were destined to rank among the very highest, most independent, and successful nations of the earth. The allusions to the political corruptions of America he regarded as unfortunate, appearing as they did in paper that was to be published under the auspices of so impartial

and interesting a body as the Royal Colonial Institute. All his past convictions had been that the separation between the United States and England had ever since been fraught with the best results, in every way, to both countries, and it was with him a question whether the benefits which the States enjoyed from such separation did not more than compensate for the corruptions in her administration, as referred to in Mr. Wood's paper. In the next place, Mr. Wood had made some reference to matters of recent occurrence affecting the island of Jamaica. He hoped the meeting would forgive him if he made special reference to the connection between Jamaica and England. He held in his hand a catechism, published on the island of Jamaica several years ago, by one of the natives of the island, and—as he presumed catechisms in general were to be accepted as the condensation of history in its elaboration and amplitude—he would read a passage from this particular catechism to show what benefits the Colonies derived from the mother-country, when, in the appointment of Governors, the selection is of those who exercise such qualities as are referred to in this catechism in connection with a distinguished name, he would prefer reading out than first mentioning. In the catechism the question was asked, “When did the administration of the Duke of Manchester terminate?” and the answer was, “The island was deprived of the services of a most efficient Governor when they were most needed, and he retired from the government in 1827, after having governed the Colony with moderation and vigour for a period of nineteen years.” It was Governors of this sort that the Colonies required, and in the appointment of such men the benefit to the Colony as a part of the British Empire was not to be undervalued. There were two questions that night discussed in which colonists had material interest. The first was a United Empire, and next, the Confederation of the Colonies in connection with the mother-country. These were separate questions of independent existence. As to a United Empire, having a large acquaintance with the feelings, sympathies, and convictions of the West Indies and of Jamaica in particular, he would undertake to say, though there should be a representative from each island in the room, that the feeling of loyalty to the Throne and of attachment to the institutions of England was in the Colonies every day increasing more and more, and there was not a colonist in the island of Jamaica who would not deeply deplore the injury, which he believed could never be repaired, if separation ever took place. But while saying that, he wished it to be understood that the union, to be binding, should be surrounded with such manifestations from this country as would

secure the confidence and lasting gratitude of all colonists. It might not be known to that assembly that the form of government now existing in Jamaica, by which institutions hitherto existing for over 200 years had been abolished, was not one that to the descendants of Englishmen and a people trained to liberal institutions could either be congenial or appreciable. It was called "Crown government" or "paternal government," which simply meant the rule of one over all the institutions of the island, with a shadowy thing called a Legislative Council, but which did not alter the fact that the Crown was supreme, while the people had no voice for any purpose in their institutions. This form of government naturally tended to destroy the manhood of the country, and from its working offered no incentive to colonists to qualify themselves or their children for positions of trust and emolument. Mr. Strangways had made one remark which he (Mr. Hyams) very much reciprocated. He had said that one of the advantages of non-disintegration to the mother-country was the outlet which the Colonies offered for England's surplus population. That to Jamaica, if properly conducted, was of great benefit. She wanted more of English brains and English reputation. Let Englishmen come, as many as possible, but when they came let them bring with them English institutions and English sympathies, so that colonists might well appreciate those institutions, and not be subject to a political degradation, such as was the natural consequence of Crown government. On the subject of Confederation, he was glad Mr. Wood's paper read that evening, and more particularly the recent work published by the respected Honorary Secretary of the Institute, Mr. Young, had given quite a different exposition of it to that which in the Colonies it was supposed to mean. Looking at recent events in connection with Confederation in some of the Colonies, the notion in Jamaica was that it meant the driving of the thin end of the wedge into such representative institutions as remained in some of the Colonies as would ultimately sweep them all away; that it meant the deprivation of all real control over the institutions of the Colony—an absolute centralisation; in a word, the Colonies ruled from Downing-street. He was glad, therefore, that night to understand that the Confederation advocated in Mr. Wood's paper, more elaborately in Mr. Young's recent work, and at meetings of the Royal Colonial Institute, was a scheme which every colonist would cheerfully and gladly accept, viz. the bringing of all the Colonies into a closer and more intimate connection with the mother-country in all that pertained to their mutual interests, while it would reserve to the Colonies undisturbed all their local

institutions and their self-government. He concluded by sincerely thanking the audience for their patient indulgence.

Mr. NICHOLAS FITZGERALD, member of the Legislative Council of Victoria, did not desire or intend to occupy time by in any way referring to or repeating the observations which had been so ably put before the meeting, as to the advantages which exist both to the mother-country and the Colonies by the continuance of the present connection. He repudiated on the part of the colonists of Victoria any sympathy with the views put forward in the article in *Fraser's Magazine* signed "A Victorian." He was happy to be able to state that in no part of Her Majesty's dominions was a feeling of loyalty and the desire to continue such feeling more widely spread or more firmly planted than it was and is in the Colony of Victoria. During a residence of many years in that Colony he never heard one sound, either in the Press, in Parliament, or in various assemblies in the several parts of the Colony, which could be construed as an imputation upon the loyalty of the colonists or a desire for separation. It was a libel on that Colony to assert that there existed any feelings of the sort stated. He felt pleasure in making that assertion on behalf of that Colony, and in assisting Mr. Wood, who, in his high position there in the offices held by him, commanded great respect; and to whom, out of gratitude for the feelings which he well knew existed between himself and the Colonists, it must be as much a subject of pride to deny the existence of any such sentiments, and rebut such assertions as those of the writer, as it was to him (Mr. Fitzgerald), as a resident of that Colony, to corroborate every statement Mr. Wood had put forward. He begged to assure His Grace the Duke of Manchester of the feeling of loyalty to the Crown, and the desire which existed among its inhabitants to preserve the integration of that portion of Her Majesty's dominions known as Victoria.

Mr. AKERMAN, M.L.C., from Natal, remarked that, after a residence of twenty-seven years in the Colony, he found the fog of London a poor preparative for public speaking. He thanked His Grace and the Council of the Institute for having given him an opportunity of being present that evening. During an absence of twenty-seven years from England he had visited this country only once, and at that time was unable to have the honour and privilege of attending their meetings. He felt highly honoured to find himself amongst the representatives of so many Colonies of Her Majesty's dominions; it strengthened the bonds and the affection colonists felt towards the Empire of Great Britain when they found themselves in such close conjunction. The able lecturer had placed before them the

two phases of the subject, and everyone had heard discussions of both phases presented by various speakers, and it would be ill-advised of him to dilate largely on them. He felt that that part of Her Majesty's dominions which he represented was very strong, being represented that evening by no less than three speakers. When he looked back eight or ten years, and remembered the time when South Africa was looked down upon by Great Britain, and was considered only as a refuge for Boers and Kaffirs, and as a place of no note, he could not but rejoice at the distinguished place which it now occupied. Since that period South Africa had explored its diamond-fields, and had shown that from so small a space as ten acres in extent it had contributed to the world value to the amount of twenty millions sterling. One part of the address, where the lecturer spoke of colonists as being not strangers, but of the same family, he greatly appreciated. He reciprocated the sentiment, for he felt they were of the same family; but while saying that, he felt that they were, as members of the same family, entitled to that consideration which their elder brothers claimed to receive. It was not to be supposed that because a man was born and reared in England and became a colonist, that he should lose his British birthright and sentiments and feelings, because his residence was among South African Kaffirs or the Hottentots of the Cape Colony. It was therefore felt that, whether it was through the public press of England, or the public opinion of England, or whether through the documents which issue from the Government of England, the sentiments of the colonists should be respected, and that they should be treated as members of the British Crown. That was all they asked, and if they obtained that they would obtain that which would satisfy ultimately their fellow-subjects of Great Britain that they were not very far from those British instincts which were taken with them from the mother-country. There was a very wide subject opening up with respect to South Africa which time prevented him from referring to; he meant the extension of the British jurisdiction in that part of the world. It was a very wide subject; and, as Mr. Robinson had said, they were here on a political mission of a confidential character, and very little now could be said on that particular topic. But he would say this, that if that Institute, although it repudiated party politics, would support the proposal—this was not a question of party politics, it was one of Empire—he alluded to the extension of the jurisdiction of Britain to the shores of Delagoa Bay as the only means of settling the South African question and of suppressing the slave trade of that part of the world—it would

greatly aid that consummation. Whether it be that we must purchase that of the Portuguese Government, or whether we were to take it in some other diplomatic manner, was a question. But the policy which now actuates Her Majesty's Government is for the benefit of the Empire, and the step he indicated was absolutely necessary for its complete success.

Mr. LABILLIÈRE, for two reasons, claimed the indulgence of his audience ; first, because he considered it desirable, as the paper acknowledged the benefits to the Colonies of Imperial connection, that the views of native-born colonists should be heard, and as thoroughly expressed as possible. The other point on which he desired to say a few words was the question of Imperial Federation, which had been alluded to by one of the leaders of the Cape Legislature, Mr. Paterson. With regard to the first point, he was sure no one could have been found more competent to deal with it than Mr. Wood, who, like himself, was born and, he believed, brought up in one of the Australian Colonies. For that reason he (Mr. Labillière) was entrusted with one of the resolutions passed at the Cannon-street meetings to which Mr. Westgarth had referred. Mr. Westgarth drafted the resolutions proposed at those meetings, for which they were indebted to him. One of the resolutions expressed the advantages to the Colonies of the Imperial connection, and that resolution was entrusted to him (Mr. Labillière) as a native-born colonist. Those meetings inaugurated a new era in the consideration of the question of the relations between the mother-country and the Colonies. The resolution was as follows : " That the rights of Imperial citizenship, Imperial supervision, influence, and example, and Imperial commerce and resources, promote all the best interests of the Colonies ; and that they, on their part, are not wanting in a loyal appreciation of their beneficial relationship." He thought Mr. Wood had most fully shown the advantages of the Imperial connection to the Colonies ; and, when the position of such writers as " A Victorian " was for one moment looked at, how did they stand ? They did not dare to get up and say that that connection was a cause of danger or ill to the Colonies in the time of peace. All they could say, therefore, was that it was just possible that some war might arise in which danger would be incurred by some of the Colonies ; but, during all great wars in which England had been engaged, had any of the British Colonies suffered in any degree from the fact ? The Imperial connection was on all hands admitted to be an advantage in time of peace ; and " A Victorian " could only contend that upon the occurrence of some unforeseen war the connection might be of

disadvantage to the Colonies. One word about Confederation. Mr. Paterson had brought that question up, and seemed to think Imperial Confederation altogether a visionary idea. He spoke of the present relation between the Cape Colonies and the mother-country as if it were to be the same fifty or a hundred years hence. He seemed to look at the position of the Cape as it was now, and as if its population were never to increase. When South Africa possesses a population of two or three millions, as all hoped it would in the course of a few years—and, looking to the progress of British colonisation, it was certain, unless some very untoward circumstances should arise in connection with the Colony, to possess a larger population within the next fifty or a hundred years—then it was impossible that its relations with England should continue as at present. What the Imperial Federalists do is this—they say we must not legislate or look merely at petty questions of the moment; we must adopt a large view, and take into consideration those circumstances which are certain to arise within the course of a very few years. When the Cape assumes such a position as that indicated, when she has a population of two or three millions of white inhabitants, Imperial Federation would be a necessity, unless the Cape was to slide out of the Empire. South Africa could not expect that this country should take upon herself the whole of her external defences; it would be only fair that Colonies with large populations should contribute to the maintenance of a system of Imperial defence by a common navy. He believed that the spirit of the Colonies would lead them altogether to repudiate the idea that all such expenses should be borne by the mother-country. They would all look upon it, when they were sufficiently strong to share such expenses, as a question of honour on their part to take part in a system of co-operative defence; and such a system would reduce the cost of the defences of the Empire to a minimum as regarded the amount of taxation which would have to be borne by the different portions of the Empire, in supplying that proportion of the Imperial revenue which would be necessary for defending the Empire. When they came to the question of revenue they came to the question of representation; and as it would be necessary to give all those who were to be taxed, even in a limited degree, Imperial representation—and they would only require taxation in a limited degree—then they could only do that by a system of Imperial confederation. It was not to be supposed for a moment that the Imperial Parliament called together for such a purpose should take into consideration those local questions, for which they were told it would be called upon to legislate. An

Imperial Legislature would no more think of passing land laws for Victoria, or legislating in respect of Church Establishment in England, or Church Disestablishment in Ireland, or of education in the United Kingdom, than of legislating upon the internal affairs of France or Russia: all such questions would be left to the complete control of the provincial Legislatures, as they were at the present time. It was mainly for external relations and the purposes of defence that it would be necessary to establish an Imperial Legislature and Executive; and unless the Colonies were to remain in those leading-strings which Mr. Paterson seemed to contemplate, and expect to the end of time that the mother-country should bear all the taxation and all the burden of maintaining Imperial defences, it would be necessary that they should come into some system of co-operation with her, and that was to be found in Imperial Confederation.

The Duke of MANCHESTER: When I heard Mr. Wood's most eloquent address, I so entirely agreed in all he said that I thought it would be unnecessary for me to make any remarks before asking you to accord him your hearty thanks for what he has so ably written and so clearly expressed. But in the course of the discussion some points have been referred to, to which I should like to make reference. I think we all admire the general enthusiastic loyalty of Colonel Denison's speech; and especially when we remember that he and his ancestors have proved their loyalty by their acts. Three generations of them have lived in Canada, and three generations have fought for the Crown. He himself was out on the last occasion during the Fenian attacks on Canada; and his father and grandfather before him have also served against the enemy. Mr. Strangways alluded to the importance of maintaining the appeal to the Queen in Council for the Colonies. I agree with him that it is a most important question, and I hope that it may never be entirely abolished. He referred also to the benefits derived by England from the possession of Colonies. But among them he did not mention one which has often struck me as being so valuable. If you look at the globe and turn it round, you will find many of the first harbours in the world in different latitudes and longitudes belong to England and her Colonies. It is of the greatest importance to a maritime nation like England and the British Empire—which I hope some day may be a maritime Empire, but at present we can only call the United Kingdom a maritime Power in a military point of view—it is of the greatest importance to have those harbours which are now in the possession of the British Empire. You have them now in the west, the south, and east of

Australia, in Tasmania, in New Zealand, Vancouver's Island, and British Columbia, and again on the east coast of America—all of them the best harbours in the world, possessed by England. And I trust that they may always belong to a nation whose power will be exercised invariably, I am certain, for the maintenance of the peace of the world. Mr. Paterson referred to the question of Federation, and he said that, as matters are going on so prosperously and comfortably at present, he saw no necessity for a change. Mr. Westgarth also thought that any system of representation in a newly-constituted Parliament must be revolutionary. But with regard to the necessity for Federation, I will refer to what Mr. Strangways said. He alluded to the time when, instead of England having to defend the Colonies, they would have perhaps to defend her. Now, I think it is quite possible that that time may come. (Hear, hear.) I am quite sure that the Colonies will grow so enormously in population and power that they will be in the position to defend England, should she require it. (Hear, hear.) And although I hope it may not occur, it is always possible that the enormous amount of trade and manufacture which exists in England may, by untoward circumstances, leave it, and leave us therefore far less powerful and wealthy than we are at present. So that the day might come when the Colonies might be called upon to defend England; but if that time ever should arrive, I would ask you to think for a moment of the old proverb of the bundle of sticks. If the time should come for the Colonies, as separate entities, to be called upon to defend England, surely it would be better that they should be previously organised into one system of defence and into one maritime and military force. Another reason in favour of some kind of Federation would be what was referred to by Mr. Robinson in reference to South Africa, especially in Natal. He said he hoped England—and I think it is very desirable—would not come hastily to conclusions prejudicial to the Colonies, but should “hear the other side.” Well, I think it is important that England should “hear the other side;” and I think that too often hasty decisions have been come to, not only by the public and the newspapers, but also by the Government, from their not having an opportunity of “hearing the other side” authoritatively pronounced. This is an additional reason for some kind of Federation, and an Imperial Parliament for persons with a delegated authority from the Colonies they represent would be found useful, where they would have authority to speak in their name, and state “the other side” of the question. Then Mr. Westgarth thought that any Parliament or representation of that

kind had better be by some few individuals, at any rate, in the first instance, having seats in the existing House of Commons. Now, I have often before said I consider that would be unsatisfactory. In the first place the numbers representing Colonies would be so small, that their powers would be insignificant, they would be swamped by the superior numbers representing the United Kingdom ; and if they were to be created in numbers sufficient and in proportion to what I hope before long they will be to their population, wealth, and influence, the assembly would be so large as to be unwieldy. He objected that it would be impossible to expect the Parliament of the United Kingdom to degrade themselves by setting up another Parliament over their heads. But I would ask Mr. Westgarth to remember that it is not the first time that people have voluntarily accepted reforms which have reduced their own powers. Look at the Reform Bill of 1832. I confess that I, as a Conservative, belong to a party which had not the foresight and liberality to accept the reforms that were necessary, but which I myself acknowledge now were necessary. But the great Whig landowners who were amongst those who in effect governed and nominated in a great degree the members of the House of Commons, sacrificed their private interests and their power for the good of the country. I think it is not impossible—I hope we may count upon it—that if the time should ever come when the House of Commons or Parliament of the United Kingdom should see that it was for the advantage of the Empire that another body should be instituted, even though it should supersede their power in some respects, that they would not refuse to carry it out. With reference to what Mr. Akerman said about Delagoa Bay, perhaps I may mention that I remember some years ago—I think 1874—that this question was noticed in the public papers about Delagoa Bay ; and I thought it would be politic, and wrote to Lord Carnarvon to that effect, for the Government to offer to purchase Delagoa Bay in exchange for some concession in respect to the wine duties in Portugal. That was before the decision was given against us under the arbitration in reference to the territory of part of Delagoa Bay. I must thank Mr. Hyams for the flattering reference he made to my grandfather. It was extremely gratifying to hear one's parents so kindly spoken of, and I hope that if ever I should have the good fortune to be employed in a public capacity, in any way or anywhere, I may equally deserve such confidence as I find my grandfather enjoyed. I have now, in your name, to express the sincere admiration and thanks of you all to Mr. Wood for his able paper. (Cheers.)

- Mr. DENNISTOUN Wood, in reply, thanked them for the approbation

they had been pleased to bestow on his paper, which he felt was very inadequate to the subject with which he had to deal. On two points only had his paper been found fault with. The first was on the subject of Federation, and the second as regarded some remarks which he ventured to make with respect to the United States. As regarded Federation, it was scarcely necessary for him to say anything more, because Mr. Labillière had dealt fully with the subject. He had, however, been accused of being illogical. It was said that he had first pointed out how very beneficial the connection between the mother-country and Colonies was to both parties, and he was asked why seek to disturb the existing arrangements. Mr. Paterson forgot that the paper was not advocating any change at the present day: it was merely answering an argument brought forward by those who were in favour of the disintegration of the Empire. They said it was impossible for the union between Britain and her Colonies to last for ever; that in the course of fifty years the population of the Colonies would be greater than that of Great Britain, and that it could not be expected that Great Britain would undertake the defence of all the Empire. If there must be a separation eventually, they said why not prepare for it now? He (Mr. Wood) looked forward to the future, and endeavoured to show that when the necessity arose for it, a change would be made in the Constitution of the Empire, which would still retain the mother-country and the Colonies in that relation which was so beneficial to both parties. Concerning his remarks about the United States, one gentleman seemed to be afraid almost that any disparaging remarks about that great country would be a *casus belli*. He thought that even if the Royal Colonial Institute were to endorse all that he said, that it would scarcely be matter for diplomatic remonstrance. But it was one of the principles of the Institute, that it was in no way responsible even for the general drift of a paper read, much less for any remarks which might be used by any essayist in support of his argument. He thought it would be very unfortunate indeed if the Institute were to lay down any rigid rules of uniformity as the orthodox policy to be followed, as it would tend to check originality. He yielded to no one in his admiration of the United States; he was proud of the progress of the people of that country. They were of the same blood, and had substantially the same history as England; and he considered the way they had extended civilisation over the vast continent of America redounded to the credit of the parent stock. But he could not understand when it was said they were not to institute a comparison between England the United States as to those points

in which they differed. He did not think the people of the United States were so squeamish about passing comments on the affairs of England. He did not go unnecessarily out of the way to find fault with the United States. Nothing he said was irrelevant. "A Victorian" had suggested that the Colonies would do well to imitate the example of the United States, and it was strictly pertinent to his argument to inquire whether the example of the United States was one which should be followed. As to the election of the President of the United States, he considered his observations on that point were strictly in keeping with his argument. He was comparing on one side the system of electing a President, and on the other that which prevails in this country and all our Colonies, where the Crown, or its representative, was the chief of the State; and he was considering which of the two was the better; and he had no hesitation in saying that the system of the Crown or its representatives being at the head of the community had many advantages. Let them recall to recollection the election of President Lincoln. The consequence of that election was a civil war. A similar election was now proceeding, and it seemed not at all unlikely that it would give rise to turmoils. Again, they knew that the system of electing a President in the United States was admitted by Americans themselves to be the cause of great demoralisation. What would be the first thing a Democratic President would do when elected? He would make a clean sweep of all Republican officials, and instal Democrats in their place. He asked therefore, was that a proper system to introduce into the Colonies? He stood up as a subject of the British Empire for the right of passing a free criticism upon the United States or any other country, so long as he confined himself within the limits of fairness, and he did not think he had trespassed beyond those limits. He thanked them very sincerely for the favour with which they had heard his paper. (Cheers.)

A vote of thanks was passed to the noble Chairman.

Mr. Young announced that the Rev. Donald Fraser, D.D., would give a paper on "Canada: as I remember it, and as it is," on Monday, December 11th; and the meeting separated.

SECOND ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Second Ordinary General Meeting was held at the "Pall Mall," on Monday evening, December 11th, 1876, His Grace the Duke of MANCHESTER, President, in the chair. There was a large attendance of Fellows and their friends.

MR. FREDK. YOUNG, Hon. Sec., having read the minutes of the First Ordinary General Meeting, which were confirmed, the PRESIDENT called upon the Rev. DONALD FRASER, D.D., the reader of the paper, who introduced his subject by saying: I am so much attached to many Canadians, and so much interested in the progress of Canada, that I could not refuse the request made to me to read a paper on Canada to this Institute; but I must ask your kind consideration for what I say on the ground that I have not any very recent personal acquaintance with the provinces that are now embraced in the Dominion of Canada. I have called my paper

CANADA: AS I REMEMBER IT, AND AS IT IS.

A little more than 800 years ago, Jacques Cartier, in command of two or three French vessels, sailed up the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and made known the vast region now called Canada to the nations of Western Europe. The exact date is 1584, a year in which Henry VIII. of England was breaking with the Pope, and on the Continent, Loyola was gathering his first society of Jesuits, and Copernicus was deciphering the true system of the universe. It was an incident of that turbulent century which attracted little notice at the time, that far to the north of the track across the Atlantic made by the Genoese Columbus, and more in the direction taken by his predecessor Sebastian Cabot the Venetian, the French had discovered new lands of unknown extent, and proceeded to establish trading ports on great inland waters. We do not at present mean to relate, or even to sketch, the history of Canada from what is held on the American Continent to be quite a hoary antiquity—the sixteenth century; but that history would be worth telling, marked as it is by heroic endurance, stirring adventures, and even desperate conflicts. At one time French, at another English, torn by the bloody strifes of the native tribes, assailed in the revolutionary struggle of the American Colonies 100 years ago,

and again attacked, but unconquered, in the American war of 1812, Canada has known vicissitude, developed a hardy people, and exhibited that capacity of giving and taking sturdy blows which indicates inherent pluck and vigour. It was brought vividly before the British public when, little more than a century ago, the gallant General Wolfe took Cape Breton and Prince Edward's Island, and in his next expedition captured Quebec, defeating Montcalm, a foe as gallant as himself. Thereafter Canada was very much forgotten in England, except when the American wars of which we have spoken forced it into notice, until the year 1837, when an attempt at insurrection in Lower Canada, and a feebler movement of the same kind in the Upper Province, surprised our ill-informed politicians at home, and led to a more intelligent and careful estimate of these great Colonies. In fact, Canada never assumed a position of any prominence in our Empire, or in the world, till within the lifetime of many of ourselves.

The Canada that met my view when I first sailed up the St. Lawrence thirty-four years ago, was a country little advanced and sparsely peopled. Shortly before my visit, the two Provinces of Lower and Upper Canada had been united as one Province, having two parts—Canada East and Canada West. There was little intimacy or cordiality between those parts; but the Province was one, as having one Governor, one administration, and one Provincial Parliament. The Governor was also Governor-General of all British North America; but in time of peace this was no more than an honorary distinction. The region below Quebec, as seen from a ship inbound, made the same impression on a stranger that it does now on those who sail in swift steamers up the gulf and river of St. Lawrence. There were the same lines of whitewashed houses, the same parish churches, with their steep roofs of glittering tin, at regular intervals, and the same abundance of small schooners and other coasting craft laden with fish, staves, or sawn timber. This is the most unprogressive district of the country, and though the Grand Trunk Railway now runs along the south shore for more than 100 miles below Quebec, and many more steamers ply on the St. Lawrence than at the time of which I speak, the *tout ensemble* is really unchanged.

Quebec, too, was as it is to-day, indeed, rather more important, both as a commercial depôt and as a military stronghold. The timber trade—always the mainstay of that port—was in great prosperity; and as vessels of large burthen could not at that time reach Montreal, Quebec held large stocks of imported goods, which were forwarded in schooners and barges to the port of Montreal,

and thence despatched further into the interior. The citadel was occupied by a force of the Royal Artillery, and usually by two regiments of foot.

Montreal was a city of about 50,000 inhabitants, many of whom lived in long straggling suburbs, composed of small wooden houses. Its fine river wall and excellent wharves for shipping were already constructed, and gave to Montreal, then as now, a striking superiority in appearance over the port of Quebec ; but there was no canal to connect the harbour with the navigable waters above ; there were no railways ; there was no bridge over the river ; there was no university, not even a high school ; and there were no manufactures of any consequence. Nevertheless, Montreal was then, as it continues to be, the chief seat of commerce and banking. Mr. Moffatt and Mr. Peter McGill were at the head of the mercantile community, and as fine specimens of the honourable British merchant as one could wish to see. The course of trade was the import of teas, wines, groceries, and manufactured goods from Great Britain, and of sugar from the West Indies ; the export of wheat, flour, pearlsh, butter, and pork, bought in the interior by the merchants of Montreal, and shipped by them to Liverpool, Glasgow, and London, on advances made by their correspondents in those ports. We may add that Montreal, like Quebec, had a garrison of British troops, and that the military element was popular in society.

At the time of which we speak, the route from Montreal to the West was one of considerable difficulty. A passenger from Montreal to Toronto made his start in a heavy lumbering coach, which conveyed him no more than eight miles to Lachine. There he embarked on a small steamboat, which took him up Lake St. Peter to the Cascades. At this place he landed, and took a coach for about twelve miles ; then another steamer on Lake St. Louis. Again a coach, or an open waggon, when the roads, always heavy, became almost impassable, and again a steamboat ; till on the afternoon of the second day the passenger, with jaded limbs and battered luggage, arrived at Kingston, at that period the seat of government. This town, or so-called city, had about 11,000 inhabitants, and contained few buildings of any size or dignity. But it had an active business, chiefly in forwarding and transhipment of cargoes from and for Lake Ontario. It was also the military head-quarters for Canada West, and held a garrison second only to that of Quebec. Fortifications were in progress to protect the little capital.

At Kingston the traveller westward embarked on a steamboat of stronger build than those which had conveyed him up the river,

because compelled to buffet the often stormy waters of Lake Ontario. Skirting the northern or Canadian shore, and calling at several ports on the way, he reached Toronto in course of about fifteen hours. This town was the old capital of Upper Canada, as it is now again the capital of the province of Ontario. At the time we speak of it had only about 22,000 inhabitants. The harbour could never be an inferior one, because of its finely-sheltered bay, but there were only a few shabby wooden wharves for shipping. The town had but one important street—King-street, across which ran roads at right angles, *e.g.* Yonge-street and Bay-street, loosely and irregularly built. Toronto, however, had a manifest destiny to increase, having the support of a rich agricultural region in the rear, as well as an excellent position for commanding the navigation and traffic of the west. It also possessed educational institutions superior to those of any other Canadian town; although the principal institutions were at that time under a close ecclesiastical influence; and the great emancipation of public instruction from such control, which has been so advantageous to Western Canada, had not then been achieved.

Westward of Toronto stretched a sparsely settled region, with a good many small towns or ambitious villages. Hamilton was a place of wide roads and spaces, and a population of perhaps 9,000. Dundas, St. Catharine's, Galt, Guelph, Brantford, Woodstock, London, and Chatham, were quite small towns, connected by roads unblessed of Macadam; dreary tracks of mud, patched with what was called "corduroy," or logs laid across its worst places,—roads over which even the Royal Mail could not make better speed than five miles an hour. It was easy to foresee, however, the future prosperity of this fertile district. Its annual yield of wheat was wonderful, and its mills turned out vast quantities of flour in barrels for shipment to Old England.

Let it be observed that the route westward which we have described was available only from May to November. During the remainder of the year navigation was closed by ice, and the traveller through Canada was obliged to journey in a sleigh over the snow roads and the frozen waters. The only piece of railway in the country was a very short line from La Prairie to St. John's, on Lake Champlain, to facilitate travel from Montreal to the United States. Indeed, the only public works of any consequence were the Welland Canal (on a smaller scale than now), connecting the Lakes Ontario and Erie; and the Rideau Canal, connecting, by the help of a chain of small inland lakes, the waters of Ontario with the river Ottawa—leaving the former at Kingston, the capital,

and entering the latter at Bytown, then quite a small town supported by the lumber trade, now transformed into the city of Ottawa, the capital of the whole Dominion.

The political atmosphere of Canada, ever since I have known it, has been sharp and keen. At the period to which I revert, the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada had been but recently united. There was little sympathy between them—the one being British and Protestant, the other French and Roman Catholic. Legislation could seldom be applied to the whole country. Indeed, it was not easy for the legislators to understand each other, the debates in the Provincial Parliament being conducted indiscriminately in French and English. The Governor-General at the time was Sir Charles Bagot, who had succeeded an abler man, Lord Sydenham. Sir Charles Bagot was followed by Sir Charles, afterwards Lord, Metcalfe, in whose days the seat of Government was removed to the city of Montreal. Political feeling ran high, and a strong agitation spread, especially through the west, on the subject of responsible government, or the transfer to Canada of the British system of Cabinet and Parliament, instead of the old Colonial Office, regime. The political leaders of that period are now dead; Draper and Viger on the one side, Baldwin and Lafontaine on the other. Sir Allan McNab was with the Draper party. John A. McDonald, of Kingston, and John Hilliard Cameron, of Toronto, were just beginning to be known on the same side. The late Sir George Cartier and Mr. Canchon were two Canadian lawyers entering on political life as supporters of Lafontaine. Sir Francis Hincks edited a newspaper in Montreal, and he and the late Judge Drummond were favourites with the Irish. George Brown had but just arrived in Canada, and was engaged with his father on a newspaper at Toronto. The present Chief-Justice Dorion, of Quebec, and Mr. Mackenzie, now the Prime Minister of the Dominion, had not yet become public men. McGee did not arrive in Canada for a good many years after the date I indicate. Sir John Rose was just at that time called to the bar at Montreal, and at once sprung into large practice; but many years passed before he went into the Parliament, and took a seat in the Provincial Government. Sir Alexander Galt was sitting at a desk in the office of the British American Land Company at Sherbrooke; and such now well known men as McPherson, Holton, and John Young were busy merchants in Montreal; none of these gentlemen having as yet given any sign of the active part they have all taken in public affairs. But the increasing range of political questions soon drew in all these and other men. Responsible Government was firmly

established ; the Clergy Reserves were secularised, and all shadow of a Church Establishment removed ; the seignorial tenure in the east was greatly altered ; public education in the west put on a very efficient footing ; and great public works—canals and railways—were accomplished.

The Lower, or Maritime, Provinces had in those days little connection with Canada. They had the parallel political and commercial questions, but there was little knowledge of these beyond their own borders. A single mail steamer—the *Unicorn*—plied during the time of open navigation between Quebec and Halifax ; and a traffic in provisions between Quebec and what were called the Lower Ports was carried on in petty schooners ; but long years passed before the great idea of federating the provinces took firm hold of the public mind.

We pass over a long and busy period. The Earl of Elgin, Earl Cathcart, Sir John Young (Lord Lisgar), and Viscount Monck in succession governed the country, and watched over its development. Canals were finished, railways constructed, and, with the help of a Government subsidy, ocean steamships began to run. The country piled up, it must be confessed, a serious public debt ; but it is of some comfort to reflect that this has been incurred not for war, but in connection with political expansion, commercial enterprise, and social improvement.

What is now called the Dominion of Canada is the whole region of British North America, Newfoundland only excepted ; and if we were to enter into a careful comparison of the condition of that country thirty years ago with its condition now, we should require to array before you the statistics of all the provinces. But our purpose is a less elaborate one. We are content to lay before you a general view of the present aspect of the country at large, as it strikes an old friend on a new visit. And there is no sign or element of progress wanting to the survey. Let us take a few prominent points in order.

1. *The growth and distribution of population.*—The last census (1871) showed 8,576,655 persons in the whole Dominion. The great flow of emigration has been, as might be expected, into the western parts—Ontario, the new province of Manitoba, and the north-west territory ; but all the provinces have increased their population in a fair ratio. In the year 1871, the distribution in the four leading provinces was as follows : 47 per cent. in Ontario, 33 per cent. in Quebec, above 8 per cent. in New Brunswick, and 11 per cent. in Nova Scotia.

In these provinces the facts as to religious persuasion are as follows :—

In Ontario the order is, or was in 1871—(1) Methodist; (2) Presbyterian; (3) Church of England; (4) Church of Rome.

In Quebec and New Brunswick the order is exactly reversed. (1) Church of Rome; (2) Church of England; (3) Presbyterian; (4) Methodist.

In Nova Scotia we find—(1) Presbyterian; (2) Church of Rome; (3) Baptist; (4) Church of England.

In the four provinces combined the order is—(1) Church of Rome; (2) Methodist and (3) Presbyterian, about equal; (4) Church of England.

If we include Newfoundland, Prince Edward's Island, Manitoba, and British Columbia, the result will not be materially altered. The proportion of Protestants and Roman Catholics in the four chief provinces is—Protestants, 57 per cent.; Roman Catholics, nearly 43 per cent.—their great stronghold being the province of Quebec.

2. *The extension of trade and manufacture.*—I do not know that there is any increase in the trade of Quebec, to which port large vessels repair in ballast twice a year, returning to this country with cargoes of timber brought down the rivers St. Lawrence, Ottawa, and Richelieu in rafts, and kept in timber cribs at Quebec. The ships which took general cargoes to Montreal, returning with produce, were always of a superior class. But they too could only make two voyages within the season of open navigation. Trade with the United States was much restricted by high duties on imports, and slow and difficult transit. In fact, commerce was almost dead for five months of the year.

Now the trade of all the provinces with one another, with Great Britain, the United States, and the West Indies, has much increased. A commercial connection is even being opened with South America; and the development of manufacturing industry and mining enterprise has provided articles of export unthought of thirty years ago. The facilities for the movement of goods have also wonderfully improved. The country is well supplied with railways—thanks to British capital—and these are kept open even in the dead of winter. A magnificent chain of canals allows the produce-bearing vessels of the lakes to carry their cargoes to Montreal without breaking bulk. During the months of open navigation, one sees at the wharves of Quebec and Montreal not merely sailing vessels, but steamships of large burden plying to Liverpool, Glasgow, and London. When the St. Lawrence is

closed, steamers from Portland in the State of Maine, which may be called the winter port of Montreal, keep the mail service and the commercial intercourse unbroken. The ports of the Maritime Provinces are also well supplied with steam communication. It is claimed that the marine of the Dominion is such as to place it third among the countries of the world, as respects the aggregate of its tonnage; and for the protection of shipping, 102 light-houses and beacons are placed along its shores. On the registry books of the Dominion two years ago there stood 7,274 vessels, having 1,256,726 tons.

In the first year of the Dominion (1868) the total value of exports is given as 57,000,000 dollars. In 1875 it approached 78,000,000 dollars. The imports rose at the same time from 78,000,000 dollars to 120,000,000 dollars.

8. *The promotion of public education, both elementary and advanced.*—A system of common school education, with good normal schools for the training of teachers, is in successful operation in Ontario and Nova Scotia. Quebec and New Brunswick are in a much less satisfactory condition as regards popular instruction; but they too exhibit signs of progress. The last census showed that in Ontario only 7 per cent. of males over twenty years of age were unable to read, whereas in the Province of Quebec 38 per cent. were in that position.

Superior schools are also in a fair ratio to the population. The Province of Ontario has a considerable number of grammar and classical schools fostered by the Government, and two universities, besides colleges in connection with religious communities. In the Province of Quebec the Roman Catholic majority have several colleges or boarding schools, and the University of Laval in the city of Quebec, now the capital of that province. The Protestants have a good High School, and the McGill University, at Montreal, besides denominational colleges at Montreal and Lennoxville.

In the Maritime Provinces the chief seat of higher education is Dalhousie College, at Halifax, an institution of well-established repute.

Canadians coming from these schools and colleges have taken no mean place in the Universities of England and Scotland.

4. *A widened area of political life and action.*—When I first knew Canada, its politics were almost ludicrously excited and perplexed. The interests and feelings of the two parts of the province were so different, the parties so balanced, the jealousies so keen, the East was so tenacious of its French language and usages, the

West so soon chafed at being restricted to the same number of representatives in Parliament with the less populous and progressive East, that political discussion became most offensive, the collisions and dissensions of public life became insufferable to men of honour, and the Government fell at last almost into a deadlock. All this has been in some degree corrected by the larger scope which the Dominion affords to a patriotic statesmanship. The splendid buildings which now occupy a commanding site at Ottawa accommodate with fitting dignity the Parliament of the Dominion, and provide room enough for the officers of a Government which holds sway across the American continent.

For a population of even 4,000,000 the political system may indeed be thought too large and too elaborate; but the extent of the country must be considered as well as the population; the autonomy of the provinces must be respected while yet their federal union is maintained; and in Colonial constitutions scope and margin must be allowed for rapid growth. It is not unwise to make clothes a little too large for a fast-growing child. And the political garments of Canada have very properly been made with an eye to its future. It is thus that we may justify such an apparatus as the following for government and legislation:—

For the Dominion, a Governor-General, appointed by the Crown, a Cabinet of twelve members, a Senate, and a House of Commons.

For the Province of Ontario, a Lieut.-Governor, a Provincial Cabinet of four members, and a House of Assembly.

For each of the Provinces of Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, a Lieut.-Governor, an Executive Council, and two Houses. Even the sparsely-populated region of Manitoba has the same provincial constitution. It is worthy of notice that the greatest and most populous of the provinces, Ontario, has the simplest political system—the smallest Executive Council, and one House of Assembly.

Altogether, there is, perhaps, too much government; but, at all events, it is self-government in liberty. One may smile at the extraordinary array of gentlemen in office, and as all members or ex-members of Executive or Legislative Councils have the title of Honourable, one cannot help thinking this sort of distinction rather overdone; but, as we have indicated, the country will grow up to its political equipment, and the various legislatures, involving many elections, and drawing out many candidates for public distinction, keep the political intelligence alive, and spread a knowledge of State affairs among the people.

The expansion of the political system has also an important and

beneficial effect on the aims and aspirations of public men. It is well that in all the provinces there are those municipal institutions which exercise public spirit, and occupy the energies of good citizens; but it is also well that a number of governments and legislatures give opportunity for the advancement, and scope for the activity, of men who are fitted to take wider surveys of what belongs to the common weal. Especially is it of advantage that the Government and Parliament of the Dominion, ranging over so vast an area, and dealing with such varied interests, should open to politicians a wider horizon of thought than heretofore, and call forth a higher strain of statesmanship.

To an observer from without, the tone of political conflict in Canada has always been unduly personal, and political criticism has often been singularly rude and vulgar, dealing freely in nick-names and the imputation of contemptible motives. At times we have had too much of this among ourselves; and the public life of the United States of America is full of this bitter and ignominious language. I do not think that anyone with the instincts of a gentleman will deny that politically Canada would be none the worse for milder manners, and even a more ceremonious style. A certain use of ceremony to preclude personal disrespect is by no means a mere frippery, or a thing to be despised.

In the past, indeed, there has been more than a rough, uncere-monious treatment of prominent public men. Political opponents have freely charged each other with jobs, dodges, shuffles, and intrigues of the most discreditable kind. The connection of the Government with great public works and railways has led to many insinuations of favouritism and corruption. It is not for me to say what foundation there may have been for such charges, or for any of them; but, while holding as firmly as any man that when they are well founded the guilty should be exposed to severe disapprobation, I am sure that the recklessness with which suspicions are received, and allegations involving dishonour are bandied about, must have a deteriorating influence on the self-respect of public men.

Notwithstanding all drawbacks, there is one element of great promise in the politics of Canada. There is no lack of competent men for legislative and administrative work, and nearly all of those who are now carrying on the public business are natives of the provinces, born and bred Canadians. This applies even to the Lieut.-Governors. That officer, in Ontario, is a native of Ontario; in Quebec is a native of Quebec; and the recently-appointed Lieut.-Governor of the North-west is a native of Prince Edward's Island. The head of the Dominion Cabinet, or Prime Minister, however, is

a Scotchman. If he had remained in his native land, he could not have aspired to sit in our House of Commons, for want of money or family influence; but he fills in Canada a position that requires as much capacity and tact as would suffice for one of our chief Secretaries of State, and seems to lead the Parliament and the country with quite as much vigour and discretion as any of his predecessors.

Let me very briefly mention some of the questions of present public interest in Canada: *e.g.*—

(1) Whether free trade is suited to a country so situated. Many plead, as in the United States, for protection to native productions and manufactures by the imposition of heavy duties on imports. The policy of the Dominion Government may be described as one favourable to free trade, but laying on imports heavier duties than a pure free trader can justify, avowedly with a view to raise a sufficient public revenue. It is not easy to see that the manufacturers or merchants of this country have any right to complain of this, for surely it is a prime duty of the Canadian administration and legislature to secure an income that will pay for the interest and gradual reduction of the public debt, and defray the necessary yearly expenditure. There has been a serious depression of trade in Canada; but this is a misfortune which has at the same time befallen England and the United States, and there are symptoms of commercial revival. It is certain that a free trade policy develops enterprise, and discovers outlets and markets for products in a way that is unknown to a policy of protection. Canada is not without proofs of this, among the most recent of which we may mention the export of cattle and of dead meat to England, and that of manufactured goods to South America.

(2) Whether the Dominion can afford, while building the Inter-Colonial Railway, which connects Quebec with the maritime provinces, also to proceed with the construction of the Pacific Railway to and through British Columbia. The former road is already in parts open to traffic; but it is being made for public safety, and as a means of military communication, quite in advance of what the commercial intercourse between the old provinces would have justified. It is, in fact, part of the price paid for the Federal union. It is a very grave question whether the country is able to pay a much heavier price for the adhesion of British Columbia, in the shape of a railway from Ottawa to the Pacific across the Continent. A pledge seems to have been given that this will be done as soon as possible; but the route is not yet definitely surveyed and decided on; and the Dominion Government evidently hesitate to plunge

into so enormous and expensive an undertaking. In the mere survey of the country through which the road must pass, between two and three millions of dollars have already been spent.

A good deal of disappointment and irritation has appeared in British Columbia, in consequence of the delay which has occurred in this business. A recent visit of the Governor-General has, however, had some effect in soothing and reassuring the minds of the Columbians. His Excellency, in the course of an admirable speech, made known the resolution of the Cabinet at Ottawa not to abandon the railway, but to proceed with the whole work as soon as it can prudently be done. Already one or two sections of the railway between Lake Superior and the Red River are under contract. There is an outcry on the part of speculators and contractors for a more active policy ; but to a friend of Canada, unconnected with these people and their interests, it would seem to be by far the wisest course to proceed deliberately, so as to keep down the first cost of the railway, and prevent the laying of an exorbitant burden on the finances of a young country, that has so much to do for itself in other matters as well as in making of railways.

(3) Whether emigration has been for the present pressed far enough, and ought now rather to be discouraged. It is certain that many have of late years been returning from Canada, as well as from the United States, disappointed in their expectation of finding constant employment and high wages. But much of this is due to the depression of trade already mentioned, and is not to be construed into a proof that Canada has lost the capacity of absorbing fresh population. The fact to be remembered is, that a new country does not present an unlimited supply of vacant situations. It has not capitalists who can employ hundreds and thousands of men, or gentlemen at ease who want a large retinue of attendants. For the banks, mercantile offices, and shops of the cities and towns, Canada can produce clerks enough without importing them. For agricultural labourers and for skilled mechanics there is room, but within limits. The recently opened territories, however, have ample accommodation for settlers who have a little money to support their families till their first crop is gathered, and who are willing to put their own hands to hard work. To such immigrants, Canada offers great advantages, and the prospect of an honourable independence.

We may put it thus. The days of indiscriminate emigration are probably ended ; but for selected emigration there is an unfailing demand. Hardy and thrifty men, accustomed to rural life—black-

smiths, carpenters, coopers, wheelwrights, saddlers, and harness-makers—all these will do well, because the very condition of a young country in course of settlement makes room and work for them. The resources of Canada for maintaining a population are to be found in its enormous territory—the vast wooded plains that still await the axe and the plough. The climate is not to be feared; it has just that amount of severity which draws out the energies of men, and gives to a northern race a vigour that no southern people can overcome. And the large proportion which the agricultural interest bears to other elements of Canadian prosperity will always give to the Dominion that most valuable constituent of national strength—a sturdy, independent yeomanry.

Our survey is fraught with good hope for the future. Canada is well grown and well-governed, enjoys inward tranquillity, and last, not least, stands in high credit in the money markets of London and New York.

It is matter of legitimate congratulation here that the Dominion, with all its self-reliance, shows no symptoms of alienation from the mother-country. On the contrary, after our troops have been withdrawn, and the Canadians have been required to provide their own militia, their allegiance to the Crown seems to be not at all weakened. Perhaps it is to be regretted that our redcoats have been so completely and absolutely recalled; but, at all events, that measure has had the effect of making more conspicuous than ever the intelligent and spontaneous loyalty of the North American subjects of the Queen:

At the same time, it is well to remember that a piece of mismanagement at the Colonial Office, or a continued indifference in English society to the progress and wishes of Canada, may easily hurt and alienate the feelings of a high-spirited people. Most useful, therefore, in view of such possible risks, most patriotic is the action of an Institute like this, which gives prominence to Colonial life and enterprise, and helps a Canadian, as it helps an Australian, to feel that he is not unrecognised or unfriended; that his country is not forgotten or ignored among the many causes and interests that are represented and fostered in this great centre of the mighty British Empire.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. ROSWELL FISHER, of Montreal, said: I can assure you I rise before you to-night with great feelings of trepidation. I am very little accustomed to public speaking, therefore I beg to ask for your indulgence during the short time I wish to address you. The

subject of the discussion to-night is, "Canada: as I remember it, and as it is;" and, as I happen to be in England at this time, it may not be out of place on my part to attempt to address you. I, my father, my grandfather, and my great-grandfather have lived in Canada for at least a century—(hear, hear)—therefore I think I have to a certain extent a claim to address you as a representative Canadian. I feel I am above all things and before all things a Canadian, and on behalf of a largely increasing number of young men in my country, I may say we feel essentially Canadian, not first Englishmen or Scotchmen, or whatever it may be, but Canadian. Nevertheless, I would not have you think that I am in any sense whatever hostile to, or wanting in affection for, Great Britain or her people. Dr. Fraser, in his most interesting address, has told you briefly—has given you a short sketch—of the past history of Canada, and he has given interesting statistics and particulars with regard to its present and immediate future. I will not take up much of your time in dwelling on the material prospects of Canada at the present time, but before going on to deeper subjects you will allow me to say that a few days ago I had the privilege of being present for a short time at the Philadelphia Exhibition. I went there especially to see what sort of appearance my own country put it in at that very great show. On looking over our department I was alternately depressed and elated—depressed because there seemed to be so little feeling that it was worth while sending every variety of our commodities; because it was impossible that their sale in the United States could increase while the American tariffs remained as at present; and I was elated, because I thought that what we did send were equal, if not superior, to any like commodities in the Exhibition. And I can say this not only on my own authority as a Canadian, but on the authority of many Americans, and also on the authority of an Englishman with whom I crossed the Atlantic—a gentleman who was sent over to the Exhibition by the British Government as an agricultural judge. The Americans acknowledged, and this gentleman was kind enough to say that, in agricultural produce, more especially in butter, cheese, cattle, and horses, Canada was at any rate equal, if not superior, to the United States. The English gentleman I have referred to said that, having travelled over a considerable portion of the United States and Canada, the only farms that came up to his view of what well-cultivated farms should be, were those of Canada, more especially those of Ontario. I also found at the Philadelphia Exhibition what I knew before—namely, that in several branches of manufacture

we were making great strides,' and I hope you will all be as pleased to hear as I am to know, that in the near future we may be able not only to compete with the United States and the rest of the world in agricultural products, but that we may be independent of the mother-country for certain manufactured articles, such as tweeds, woollens, coarser cottons, and edged tools. Notwithstanding the increasing prosperity of the country, I trust you will bear with me when I say that all is not sunshine. We, as a new country, have disadvantages as well as advantages. I am almost sorry to say that when people are addressed in this country by emigration agents, politicians, or those who are interested in making everything appear *couleur de rose*, they hear very little about the disadvantages of Canada. I do not hide them, because, looking at the disadvantages we suffer under, you will give us all the greater credit for the progress we have made in overcoming them. The first disadvantage is the extraordinary extent and the situation—geographical situation—of our country. It is, as you are aware, the Northern half of the North American continent, and the greater part of it is absolutely useless, and I believe always will be useless, for purposes of cultivation and settlement. It is natural that the country should be thinly populated, as the settlers who first went there, instead of concentrating or spreading evenly in different directions, fringed the water ways with a long thin streak of settlements. This is one of our disadvantages. The next is the coldness of the climate, for no doubt, commercially speaking, the coldness is a great drawback. At the same time it must not be forgotten that, as Dr. Fraser suggested to-night in his paper, it is in consequence of this that we hope to keep up and develop still further those qualities that have made the British race so prominent. I should not like to dogmatise on the point, but I think that, if it were not for the vast fields of snow which collect every year in the North, and store up large quantities of moisture, it is possible that we should not be possessed of the great lakes and of the river St. Lawrence, of which we are so proud. These, I may say, are our physical disadvantages. No, there is one more. Though the soil of our country is inferior to that of no other country, at the same time it is in part covered with virgin forest. Notwithstanding that this forest is an enormous source of wealth, I can imagine no task seemingly more utterly hopeless, and none more formidable, than that which the emigrant finds before him when he goes into this forest country and knows that he has to hew himself a home. Under these circumstances, I am not surprised if your people prefer frequently to go to other countries where these difficulties are not to be met with, where the

climate is more genial, and the soil has not to be cleared in this way. Nor is it surprising that the Western States have been able to attract large numbers of emigrants by offering inducements beyond those which we could give. We have, however, our advantages, as I have already said. We have the advantage of being within easy reach of Europe, comparatively speaking; and on the whole this has been an important advantage. You will be surprised perhaps, that among our disadvantages, I have not mentioned our proximity to the United States. (Hear, hear.) Well, I do not consider that a disadvantage; on the contrary, I think being near so great a centre of wealth and intelligence a positive advantage. I am well aware that there are great numbers in Canada, and I believe there are many in other countries of the world, who think that patriotism consists in abusing other countries than their own. I am afraid that some Canadians would abuse the Americans and the United States; but I have no sympathy with the feeling. (Hear, hear.) I was asked the other day in London whether I did not think it probable, in the event of Great Britain being drawn into war with Russia, that the United States—reminding us of the fable of the wolf and the lamb—would rush into Canada, and annex us against our will. I answered, “Certainly not; and I do not believe that the United States has any such idea.” I would say more than this, at the cost of delaying you longer. I think there is no danger of this kind. The people of the United States are supposed to be a shrewd people. I think they are much too shrewd a people, having a large number of discontented citizens of their own in the South, to wish to add to their rule a large number of discontented citizens in the North. (Hear, hear.) I believe a Republic to be less aggressive, especially under a Federal Government, than any other form of constitution. The people of the United States, I believe, are in no way actuated by hostility to Canada; and, from what I saw at Philadelphia, the readiness of Great Britain with other countries to assist them in this great Exhibition has, for the present at any rate, very much lessened any feeling they may have had against Great Britain. (Hear, hear.) I think the Americans are all friendly towards Great Britain and Canada, and I believe in the morality of the people. Whatever we hear of the corruption of officials and the character of their State Government, I don’t think the whole nation would be so detestably immoral as to endeavour to enslave a population allied in laws, religion, and language. I think the experience of America has been that, in any diplomatic transactions with Great Britain and her Colonies, they have always got much the best of it, and I

don't believe they think this is going to end. Therefore they would very much more readily attack us diplomatically through the English Government than by force of arms. (Laughter, and hear, hear.) I now come to a subject which I consider most serious, and which I feel a great deal of delicacy in approaching here to-night. I believe I lay myself open to the risk of being considered unpatriotic and wanting in reticence, and not careful enough to keep from washing our dirty clothes in public. However, I feel it my duty to say what I am going to say. We have certain political disadvantages in Canada. So far, the Dominion is yet young. The different provinces have not been cemented into absolute union; but in regard to the English-speaking provinces, I don't consider there is any danger on this head. We have a storm in a tea-kettle about British Columbia; but I don't believe much is thought of that. There is, however, a most ominous factor in our political situation. We have in the province of Quebec, situated between our maritime provinces and our interior provinces, a million and a quarter of people—more than twenty-five per cent of the entire population—alien in race, laws, religion, and language to us; and this in itself is an extraordinary difficulty. And I am sorry to say that there is no sort of sign that the French and English Canadians are approaching each other at all. Our hope might be that in time the English and French elements in Canada would, by intermarriage and seeking to approach each other, become united into one people. What is the fact, however? Why, I am sorry to say that of late years, instead of those who reside in the French and English quarters of the great town in which I reside—namely, Montreal—having more to do with each other, the contrary prevails. We have less to do with each other. I hope I am not offending anyone here in what I am stating. I have a great regard for many of the qualities of the French Canadians. They are a law-abiding, industrious, and ingenious people. They make good operatives and very poor agriculturists, but at present they are backward in education. With regard to their religion, they are abjectly subject to the influences of the Roman hierarchy. I am sorry to say—and I say it with reluctance—that since the Vatican Council, the hierarchy seems to have made a great attempt to make Quebec the stronghold of Ultramontanism in America. A certain statute was passed in one of the Legislatures in the province of Quebec recently, and there was a marginal note with reference to it, which contained words something to this effect: "Rearrangement of certain matters in accordance with the decrees of our Holy Father Pius IX." We were all very much astonished at it, but

such was the condition of things in the province that a marginal note of that nature was allowed to be put upon a statute. We have had cases in which it has been sought to set aside certain elections in consequence of the priests from their pulpits anathematising those who voted for the wrong candidate, which means subjecting their flocks to supernatural terrorism. (Hear, hear.) It is with extreme reluctance that I go into this subject ; but it is important not only to Canada but to the Empire at large that this Franco-Canadian question should not be ignored, as it almost always is by our politicians and our practical men, so-called. Our Governor-General, when he was last over here, and other officials, have spoken as though the English and French Canadians were living in delightful harmony together. I wish it were so. I am sorry that the French party, in consequence of this unfortunate difference, are so extremely averse to any emigration of English people to, and any settling of English people in, Quebec. I say this as a Quebec man, because we are taunted with our slowness. If you saw our difficulty, you would think well of us for what we have managed to do, rather than taunt us for what we have not done. I wish to say in conclusion that, under these circumstances, we in Canada feel that we need time to consolidate our heterogeneous population and our straggling country into one harmonious nation. We are doing all we can ; but it lies very much with the people and the Government of Great Britain to give us this time. We have no desire whatever to cut adrift too soon from the British Empire, though I believe we shall eventually find it to our common interest to separate. (Cries of "No, no.") But if the state of things alluded to by Dr. Fraser goes on, it is probable we may be cut adrift, or may cut ourselves adrift, too soon. If a certain indifference and hostility on the part of certain journals in England continues, we may feel our self-respect so outraged—(laughter)—that we may absolutely find it necessary to cut ourselves adrift. (No, no.) We in Canada, nearly all of us, are conscious that your leading journal—I am sorry to have to mention any one journal in particular—has been for years very hostile to us. If we are from time to time to be scolded by the press, and the normal indifference of the people is to continue, how can our sympathy with the mother-country increase or even survive ? Have not our sympathies been sacrificed for the United States ? I say they have, and I am sorry to be obliged to say so. At the last Fenian demonstration against Canada we sent out our working-men to the front, and kept the English troops in the rear, so that if our men ran away they could support them. Well, when this invasion collapsed, the *Times*, in lauding the United States for the energetic

steps they had taken to defeat the demonstration, said nothing, or next to nothing, of our efforts. This is not pleasant to Canada ; and, remember, that the other Colonies feel the coldness and indifference exhibited towards them by the mother-country. It is reasonable to ask this, I think, that if you cannot, from the multiplicity of your engagements, take an active interest in Canada and the Canadians, or in Australia and the Australians, and cannot make yourselves acquainted with us, at least do not talk and write against us when you know nothing of the facts. Only the other day another leading paper here actually told us that we must be taught to understand that Imperial interests must not be allowed to suffer in consequence of Canadian bad faith. Canadians smile at this. What, we ask, are Imperial interests in North America apart from Canadian interests ? The day that shall see the secession of Canada will see the annihilation of Imperial interests in North America. As I am reminded that I have already trespassed too long on your time, I will merely say, in conclusion, that if I have spoken somewhat strongly of British conduct in regard to my country, it is not that I love Great Britain less, but that I love Canada more. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. B. BROWN : I have the pleasure of knowing Canada well. I first visited the Colony thirty-seven years ago. I remember my countryman, Dr. Fraser, there, and sat under him in his church at Montreal, and I have been much pleased to hear him deliver so excellent a lecture, and one that will interest all in Canada. I am very desirous at once to notice a few words which have just been uttered by the last speaker, and which have naturally produced some surprise if not emotion amongst us. I have just returned from Canada, and I believe in the same ship with Mr. Fisher, the Cunard steamer *Scythia*. I made the acquaintance of the gentleman whom Mr. Fisher refers to, who was selected by the Duke of Richmond to be one of the judges of cattle sent by Canada to the Philadelphia Exhibition, and I heard him with much pleasure speak so well of the farms of Canada. I travelled in both Eastern and Western Canada, and I cannot at all agree or sympathise with what Mr. Fisher has said about "cutting adrift." I was in Canada when the whole country, as it was said, was in the hands of a family. The "Family Compact" we all remember, and we all know the great services of Charles Buller and Lord Durham, to whom all honour are ever due, as men who have done more to cement our great Colony of Canada than any two other men, to my knowledge. It was said at that time that Canada was not fit for responsible government. There are certain people engaging

much attention now who are said to be so ; but try a man and tell him that his prosperity is at stake, and when he has that responsibility thrown on him he will be able to manage himself. Charles Buller told the Canadians so, and Lord Durham told them so. Our Imperial Government acted on it, and there is now no more loyal country than Canada. I met gentlemen in high official position in Canada, and I also had the pleasure of meeting Lord Dufferin in Philadelphia, one of the best and most popular Governors Canada could wish to have, and I gathered from these and from many others belonging to all classes of society that the loyalty of the Canadian people is cordial and unquestioned. The tone of loyalty was everywhere unmistakable, from the highest to the lowest. American gentlemen have told me, "We never knew the loyalty of Canada stand so high." I believe the Canadians will never cut themselves adrift from the Empire if the Empire continues as true to their interests as it shows itself now. With regard to the Pope, and all we have heard about the Roman hierarchy from Mr. Fisher, it is all nonsense, gentlemen. (Laughter.) I know the Canadians well, and I am sure that it is all pure rubbish. With respect to the Hon. John Young, of Montreal, who was a Minister under Lord Metcalfe, I will tell you that in having accomplished the great work of deepening Lake St. Peter he has done a service to Canada which cannot be overrated. Mr. Young is one of the greatest benefactors of Canada's material interests she ever possessed, and whom Canada ought to be prouder of and more grateful than she is.* Some one man or other we always find in modern history does more for countries than centuries of time, or princes, or assemblies. It has been so in Russia, in Austria, in Prussia, in France, in England ; and the United States and Canada have been no exceptions to this. I am delighted that Dr. Fraser has mentioned Messrs. Holton and

* Mr. J. B. Brown, referring to the debate on Dr. Fraser's paper, writes: "I regret that, owing to the limited time allowed to each speaker in the debate, I had not the opportunity (when referring to the distinguished services which the Hon. John Young had conferred on Montreal, and indeed I should rather say on all Canada, by the deepening of Lake St. Peter), as I had desired, to allude to an almost equally great public service which Mr. Young had rendered to the Colony, namely, his having originated and successfully realised the idea of the Victoria Bridge across the St. Lawrence. Both these great works have proved to be of the first importance to Canada, and more especially to Montreal. It is to be hoped that before it may be too late Mr. Young's distinguished services to his adopted country will be recognised in some public manner, much more than has hitherto been done. We so often find that after great benefactors have been taken away from us for ever, and when the little mists of envy and all other ill feelings have cleared away, which prevented these men being viewed in all their true and full merit, public recognition comes at last—but alas! in one great sense too late."

McPherson and others, coadjutors with Mr. Young, whose efforts have brought Montreal 200 miles nearer to the sea. When I was first at Montreal there were very few vessels in the River St. Lawrence, and those only of a small size, which sailed up to Montreal. Lake St. Peter was a shallow, half-way between Quebec and Montreal; it has been deepened, and is navigable for large ocean steamers. I left Montreal, twenty-six years ago, comparatively a small place, but it has now grown immensely. It is almost like an ocean port. I found Toronto benefiting in the prosperity of Montreal, brought closer to the ocean and closer to England, to which her ties perhaps have more than doubled. The little town of London, in Upper Canada, which thirty-seven years ago was in the woods, a little village with backwoods all round it, I saw a few weeks ago a large city, with a mayor, a dozen churches, a stately custom-house, and a population, including suburbs, of about 20,000. (Hear, hear.) When I formerly went up there in 1839 it took me some two days to reach it from Toronto, much of the journey in a lumbering stage-coach over "corduroy" roads, but during my recent visit I performed the journey by railway in a luxurious Pullman car in a few hours.

Mr. R. H. PRANCE: I have taken an interest in Canada since 1850, and having to a certain extent contributed towards its prosperity, inasmuch as I have had something to do with finding capital for the railways, I think I may say two or three words. When I hear gentlemen speak of the increase in the population, in the amount of traffic, and the general improvement of the Dominion of Canada, I wish to say it is owing to British capital that Canada is what it is. This has been found, because we hold the opinion that those who have become the inhabitants are men to be trusted. Now when I say this, I mean it is in the Scotch element and not in the French, in Toronto and not in Montreal, that the greatest power is to be found. (No, no.) I believe in Canada, because I believe that Canada as a nation is founded on Great Britain. Those who have gone out there are principally Scotchmen, and are remarkable for their honesty and probity.

Mr. TRELAWNY SAUNDERS said that the speeches which had been addressed to the meeting would not fail to convince them of the truth of the remark that the Dominion was not yet advanced to the degree of consolidation which involved unity. He hoped the time had now come when the whole of those vast possessions, and not part of them, would be bound together in English feeling. It was in that point of view, he took it, that the union of the Dominion with the mother-country was most usefully to be maintained. It

was well known that they saw farthest and most from a distance, and it was from viewing Canada from a distance that they could promote some of those interests which could not be seen by those who viewed it with their eyes close to the paper. He would wish to say a word with reference to the paramount importance of the union of the Pacific seaboard with the Atlantic by means of that railway which was under consideration. He would also like to speak about those parts of the Dominion which were deemed—according to the speakers they had heard to-night—to be inhospitable deserts. He did not sympathise altogether with what had been said, for he believed that some of those regions might become gardens under the influence of man. If they were not fit for one thing, the human intellect could prove that they might be tolerably fit for another. There were various things which were necessary to bring about the utilisation of different countries, and one was the united interest of the whole country in one Government, and that has been brought about by the far-seeing policy of the British Government, and the admirable unanimity with which the various provinces abandoned their individuality in favour of a common whole. Were they still to be content with seeing the different provinces remaining, in a sense, distinct, as they were before? No; and he would say, if Canada could be brought to see the vast problems that were under their control to solve, they would see that they held a far higher position in the world than that of Montrealists or Quebecists. There was one great man who came here some years ago, namely, Asa Whitney. He saw that Canada had the only great rivers running east and west in the whole of the continent of America, and he gave himself to the work of opening up that communication. Through the policy of the United States a communication had been opened up from the east to the west in the construction of their great system of railways; but for Canada or the United Empire to neglect the advantages offered by their rivers was to neglect a great gift given by God Himself. Where did this east and west road lead to? To communication across the American continent between the populations of Europe and America and the teeming populations of Asia. Whenever a tea trade was opened at Vancouver, it would be good-bye to the tea trade with England, except in a local way. They were dealing with a vast country, almost beyond the limits of their imagination, the greater part of which was in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company. If Canada saw the great wealth which was to come on of that country by a proper and natural use of it, instead of such greedy and limited use as the company of merchants made of it.

there would be a far more abundant amount of wealth coming from it. Who could say that such a state of things ought to exist as that in Mackenzie Valley, where, in a valley leading to some of the richest whale fisheries, there were no farms to be found?—nor would there be so long as the territory remained in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company. (A GENTLEMAN in the room, interrupting, here stated that the Hudson's Bay Company had sold their property.) The Hudson's Bay Company had given up for a good price some portion of their territory—that portion of it which lay on the Saskatchewan River. He hoped the newly-acquired territory would be made use of, as the United States, if they had it to-morrow, would make use of it before the year was out. The remainder of the enormous estate remained in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company. He would refrain from mentioning other topics which such an enormous area opened to him, but there was a use in viewing this matter in an Imperial sense. (Hear, hear.)

The Venerable Archdeacon HUNTER, late of Prince Rupert's Land, said : The only claim I can possibly have to address the meeting to-night, after the very able and exhaustive paper read by my friend Dr. Fraser, would be that it was my privilege to live twenty-one years in a portion of the territory which has now become part of the Dominion of Canada, and that I can speak of the country just referred to (the Valley of the Saskatchewan), having resided on its banks for ten years. It was in the year 1844 when I first went to Rupert's Land. Now, think of its isolated position thirty-two years ago. The communication with England was only open twice in the year—once by means of the Hudson's Bay ships in the autumn, and again in the spring of the year by the north canoes arriving at Red River and Norway House with Sir George Simpson, the Governor. Occasionally I only received letters from England once in the year, and during these ten years I never saw any money—(laughter)—I was able to dispense with the use of it. Red River Colony presented a very different appearance thirty-two years ago from its aspect to-day. It was a colony formed by Lord Selkirk, I believe, in the year 1812, by taking out some Highlanders from Sutherlandshire, and locating them in the very centre of North-west America. Hence we have such names there as McDonald, Ross, Gunn, and so on; and a Presbyterian church presided over by the Rev. John Black, named Kildonan; therefore we are thoroughly Scotch. (Laughter.) If any person had arrived in the colony in those days we should have looked in his face and inquired, "Where did you come from? How did you get here?" The settlers were scattered along the banks of the Red River for

about a hundred miles. Ascending from Lake Winnipeg, you would first arrive at the Lower Fort Garry. Another twenty miles farther up you would come to Upper Fort Garry, where, you know, not very long ago Sir Garnet Wolseley put down the rebellion. This country is an oasis in the midst of a wilderness, and surrounded by a vast territory for hundreds and thousands of miles. Now let us look at the progress made during the last few years. If I wanted to send a telegram to Red River, it would be flashed under the sea and across the Continent in a very few hours. The Red River settlement, although it was commenced when the present city of Chicago (which in Cree signifies "skunk," "shekak") was a fishing village on Lake Michigan, remained in an isolated state for many years ; but now a marvellous change has taken place since it became part of the Dominion of Canada. In the neighbourhood of the Upper Fort a vast city is springing up called Winnipeg, Manitoba. Manitoba is the name of a lake, signifying in the Cree language "God's narrows," derived from the word "Manito" or "God," which, you will remember, occurs so frequently in the "Song of Hiawatha." A friend wrote to me the other day, and said : "If you paid a visit now to Upper Fort Garry, and walked through our city, with its magnificent shops, and streets, and side-walks, you would in all probability lose yourself in the place with which you were familiar ten or twelve years ago." I speak of this in order to show the great progress which is taking place. The land is most fertile and easy of cultivation. My own glebe extended four miles in length and a quarter of a mile in breadth, only requiring the plough to be put in and the poplar trees cut down for fencing, to convert it into a farm. There are thousands and millions of acres of land ready for cultivation without the labour of rooting up of trees as in Canada. All the settler has to do is to take his plough, put it into the virgin soil, turn it up, sow his seed, and produce the finest wheat crop that is to be found in the world. I do not believe there is any wheat anywhere which will be found to equal that of the Red River colony for weight and quality. In conclusion, I may be permitted to mention that I have travelled through a large portion of the country, and carried the sound of the Gospel to the Arctic Circle. I was the first minister who preached the Gospel in that district, and I can say, from personal observation, that the cultivation of the land along the Mackenzie River would be most difficult. I had the great satisfaction of reducing the Cree language to writing, and preaching the Gospel to the natives in their own tongue. I remember the time when there was not a bishop or a diocese in

the whole territory, and now there are four; two of which, the Saskatchewan and the Athabasca dioceses, were opened up by myself. I have a book in my hand which I think will show you the progress of the Red River. It is not the "London Post-Office Directory," but it is the "Manitoba Directory," and for the year 1876-7. Here you will find the names of professional and business men and other inhabitants of the Province, &c. &c. All this shows that our friends at Red River are going ahead. One of my very worthy schoolmasters is now an honourable M.P.P., the Minister of Public Works, receiving a very fair compensation. There is, I see, the "Pioneer Meat Market," and no doubt they will be having a cattle show shortly. (Laughter.) Bishop Machray, in a letter of July 14th, 1876, says, "The country looks at present a perfect garden." This will show what the state and character of the Red River is. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. BEAUMONT said he could not help thinking that, after the extremely interesting speeches they had heard from various Canadians, it would not be inappropriate in one who was not a colonist, though deeply interested in Colonial questions, to state what had occurred to him as to the line of the discussion. He would refer with great respect to what had fallen from Mr. Fisher. The various opinions of Canadians of the different provinces, however, only served to show that there was nothing absurd in the notion of a mother-country whatever. One gentleman said one thing, and one another. One said the future of Canada lay with the Scotch settlers; one said that if the present state of things continued, Canada would have to cut adrift from the mother-country; and another said that if it was not for the little garden in Manitoba there would be no hope for Canada at all. (Hear.) He was gratified to find a gentleman who had so much experience of Canada coming forward with an earnest desire to give them a true impression of the country which showed such interesting development, and he could not help thinking that that gentleman himself must have felt, after what had taken place, that there was something to be said for the view that England was not so forgetful of Canadian interests, and so absorbed in her own concerns. He could not help thinking that that gentleman's observations as to the probability of Canada cutting itself adrift is not to be answered merely by those who thought it ought not to be severed from the mother-country, saying, "It shan't be," or "It won't be." The indifference of Great Britain that Mr. Fisher spoke of was by no means a real indifference. The judgment as well as the feeling of the country really treasured the Colonial Empire, and the *doctrinaire* opinions of some of our news-

papers were not to be taken as the opinions of the people of this country. He was quite sure that Mr. Fisher and other Canadians who came there, if they would observe the feelings of the English people who took an interest in the Colonies—not merely for the sake of seeing the British flag waving over them, but for the sake of observing in the past and securing in the future what the glories of Great Britain had been and might be—they would feel that, after all, the unity of the British Empire was not the mere accident that was to be determined by cutting adrift here and cutting adrift there, but that it was a grand institution that was to be continued, because it was based on a true solidarity of interest. He fully agreed with everything that had been said on a subject on which indeed one's judgment was very infirm, because the information which they had was so slight; but there could be no question that the future of Canada must be so vast that the attempt to form it in one's mind was vain. But that was no reason why they should not think that with the great development of civilisation there would be a similar development of political organisation. Were they to look at the Chinese people, so wonderfully organised, and yet at such a disadvantage, without the help of Christianity, and what we called liberty, and without all those constitutional advantages which had brought us to our glorious present; were they to look at the Chinese and see them a mighty mass of active and industrious people for thousands of years, and to say they could not hit off such a plan in the conduct of Canadian and Imperial affairs as would maintain their union? In giving themselves a name and identifying themselves with any part of the Empire, they could not use words which would fit every part of the composition, but he only spoke of himself as English as he would challenge a native of Newfoundland or an Australian as an Englishman. Was there not the possibility of development such as had never been worked out before—development in the direction of consolidation, it might be in the first instance over scattered populations—but was there not the possibility of weaving the Empire into a closer texture of organisation, so that there might be an Empire more great, and prosperous, and useful than had ever yet been thought possible? Let the Montreal gentleman chaff the Toronto gentleman, and the Toronto gentleman chaff the Montreal gentleman, but when they were talking about such a vast subject could they not raise their thoughts to that level to say, "These things are trivial"? There might be great differences existing, but were they not subordinate to that vast career which might yet be achieved, and to which he had referred? He would call attention to this, and he had said it

once before in this room, that the phrase "Mother-country" was a grand truth, and the Colonies were simply so many members of a family. They were in truth children. When they were young, for a little time they wanted their heads knocking together, and it was afterwards necessary to exercise a judicious control over their movements. Later on they grew bigger and wanted more of their own way perhaps, but they must still submit to the authority of the parent. Later on they might consider themselves in some way as important as their fathers; but who of us was there, however rich and influential he might become, who did not in all the independence even of maturity still recognise the just rights and influence of his father? If there was a son who did not, he was unworthy of a father—in fact he did not deserve to have a father. (Laughter.) They had touched upon several points of interest and difficulty to-night, and he thought that they had done well in touching upon them, and hoped they would prove matter for thought. The great thing to his mind was that, after all, the British Empire is one country, and the man who talked of cutting the Colonies adrift talked in a manner unbecoming in an Englishman, whether of the mother-country or of the Colonies. (Cheers.)

Mr. SAMUEL HILL said that, as he had visited Canada in the year 1861, he might be allowed to make a few remarks. He would call their attention to the occupation of Canada by the French. He would ask them to go back with him to the year 1608, and would remind them that the French occupied Canada from that year until 1750, nearly a century and a half. From that date up to the present time, during a period of 117 years, the country has been in the possession of Great Britain. The French occupation, therefore, exceeded that of the English nation. He had seen in Canada a joint monument to Generals Wolfe and Montcalm; then surely these things pointed to a fusion eventually between the French and British interests. He believed that the great cause of estrangement that at present existed was the matter of creed. He did not know that he could better illustrate this than by relating what it was his painful lot to witness in Montreal. On St. John the Baptist's day, June 24th, in the year 1861, he was with his brother-in-law (who went out to Canada under the auspices of his cousin, Robert Stephenson, the designer of the bridge that spanned the St. Lawrence, and of that beautiful bridge, the Britannia, at Conway), when he saw a procession in which was carried a child representing St. John. The sight was very painful to him, and he thought at the time, if the child had been under its mother's care it would have been in its proper place. He was led to make these remarks

because the question of religion was affecting not only Canada but the United States. He would say that the question at the present was a question of religion. It was the question of voluntarism. There were many churches in the United States belonging to the denomination which the rev. lecturer so much adorned he believed, but they were not conducted by regular pastors. The more they looked at the question they found that religion was the only cement that could bind Canada together, and it would prove an indissoluble bond of union. He hoped the members of the present Cabinet, aided as they were by Lord Dufferin, the Governor-General, who, in a former Administration, was Chancellor of his native county, the Duchy of Lancaster, would ever remember that "righteousness exalteth a nation." He would be very sorry if the legislatures of Canada ever attempted to introduce the French Sabbath. (Cries of "Question, question.") It was the question, and a question which affected the welfare of Canada. He had also had some experience of the United States, and he believed there was one feature which had been altogether overlooked. He was aware that he was speaking in the presence of Mr. Brown, but he had not had correspondence with the United States for a quarter of a century without knowing the feeling which existed between the United States and Canada, as indicated by the Reciprocity Treaty. It was the development of Canadian resources through the medium of lake and river navigation, importations of grain from Chicago having some time since been made into Liverpool by way of the Welland Canal. It was a moot point (he continued) whether the Home Government should not assist in the construction of necessary railways in Canada by guaranteeing to the investors interest, as they had done in India; and he would say that if the British Government would do this for a period of years—twenty-one, say—the Pacific Railway would be constructed, and Canada would be independent of the United States. He should be very sorry to see Canada in possession of the United States, and hoped it would never be severed from the British Empire. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. H. E. MONTGOMERIE said he would like to refer to the remarks of Mr. Fisher as to the Lower Canadians. He agreed with him as to their backwardness in many respects, but as his observations seemed to lead to the inference that they would be a party to the cutting adrift of Canada from the mother-country, he was obliged to dissent. He believed the feeling of loyalty among the French Canadians was as strong as that amongst any others. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Fisher had shown them fairly enough the reasons that would prevent their American neighbours as men of

sense from trying to annex Canada by force. Well, there were equally strong reasons to lead the Canadians altogether to repudiate any alteration in their present mode of government. If they were recommended to bring themselves under the Government of Washington, that would not be the means of giving them greater liberty than they had at present, but much the reverse. The feeling against the "Yankees" ever since 1812 had been very strong amongst the people of Lower Canada, and they would not do anything to bring themselves under the Government of the United States. Suppose they were to take the course suggested by Mr. Fisher as a consequence of some remarks made in the English newspapers and "cut themselves adrift," would they be in a better position than they were now? One-fifth of a population—the other four-fifths of which were of a different race and a different language, though not of different laws, as Mr. Fisher had said—would they be in a better position or have equal influence if forming one-fiftieth part only of the United States? Now they enjoyed equal privileges with other Canadians, and equal power in the government of the country; in fact, according to the views of some people, they possessed more power at the present time than they ever had. For all these reasons, he thought there was no fear of the French Canadians having any disposition to cut themselves adrift from the mother-country. Nor did he think that the feeling prevailed throughout other parts of the Dominion. He thought that the feeling of loyalty was so strong that a few remarks in newspapers, or a little coldness shown here and there towards Canadian individuals or interests, would not so offend the people of the Dominion as to cause them to cry out for separation from the mother-country. He had a far better opinion of the Canadians than to think that. With regard to what Dr. Fraser had said as to the navigation of the St. Lawrence, there were one or two points he should like to mention. Farther back than the time Dr. Fraser referred to—sixty years ago—the spring importations to Montreal were carried almost entirely by one vessel, the *Eweretta*. The two voyages that Dr. Fraser spoke of as being the customary rule in his time had not then been adopted. The vessel went up to Montreal, and then frequently struck her topmasts, stowed away her sails, and there stopped until the autumn, when she went off to sea again, thinking she had done very well if she had made one voyage in the year. This state of things was changed by greater energy and increased trade, and there came to be two voyages in the year regularly. The facilities for reaching Montreal were increased from time to time by not only deepening Lake St. Peter, but by the introduction of

steam, which enabled vessels to be towed up the strong current below Montreal. He remembered an instance before the introduction of steam in which two vessels came to the foot of that current. One vessel, which was slightly in advance of the other, made the passage of the current with a strong breeze, but the other could not follow, as the wind fell off just as she was about to enter the current, and she was obliged to come to anchor where she was. The first ship went back to England, took in another cargo, and on her return found her comrade still lying at the foot of the current, the wind having been continuously unfavourable. The steam-tugs had put a stop to this kind of thing, however. The facilities had so much increased, that instead of a vessel making one voyage a year, or the two voyages that Dr. Fraser had spoken of, two, three, and in some cases four, voyages had been made between Great Britain and Canada in the course of the short season that the ice allowed them. Dr. Fraser had said that the military element was very popular in Montreal. He thought the feeling was mutual, for he recollected seeing in a newspaper two years ago a list of officers in the army who had married Canadian young ladies during the previous ten years or so, and he thought they amounted to about fifty—(hear, hear)—so that the liking was certainly reciprocal. The Canadians liked the military, and the military liked the Canadians. In conclusion, he stated that the mails, which used formerly to be taken to Portland and sent through the United States, were now landed at Halifax, and taken entirely through British territory to Montreal and other parts of Canada.

Captain COLOMB wished to make a few remarks with regard to the matter contained in the last page of the interesting paper which had been read to them. In the very last paragraph there was an allusion to this Institute. "And," it said, "gives prominence to Colonial life and enterprise, and helps a Canadian as it helps an Australian." In the same paper there was a reference to the Pacific seaboard, and to intercolonial railways. It was not out of place at such a time as this to take a wider view of the interests of the Empire, and to attempt, if possible, to show that they could not rely on principles which were to govern a part of the Empire, and which did not touch the whole of it. With regard to the intercolonial railway, he should like to draw the attention of members and visitors present to the fact that that railway had in the future a very direct reference to Australia. He would tell them why, but would first offer them a suggestion. He was very seldom at their meetings, residing as he did a long way off, but he would suggest that when any paper referring to a Colony was read in that room,

there should be a map of the world hung up for reference. His reason for making the suggestion was that he found it difficult to explain and bring home in a simple way to those present why these railways were of interest to Australia, because he had not a Pacific seaboard before him. He would endeavour, at all events, to explain himself without a map. As a matter of finance and commerce, it was a question, he supposed, whether the railway would be satisfactory to Canada itself. The lecturer seemed to think that a young country like Canada should not be burdened with the cost of making a railway across to British Columbia. He agreed with that, but he wished to lead others to see that it was not a question only for that young country, but was a question of the future with regard to our Empire. He thought he should be able to explain that. Far to the west of British Columbia was another land bordering on the Pacific Ocean. In the year 1850 the nearest military post of Russia was 2,800 miles from the seaboard. She had no defended seaboard on the Pacific. In the year 1851, up the Amoor, a port was established, and in 1854 a military station was formed. An attempt was made to claim the island of Saghalien for Russia by a Russian officer in 1805. Objection was raised to the step by certain Powers, and the Russians said they did not mean to take it. The fact, however, was that Russia held it, and it was well to bear in mind that on a seaboard exactly opposite Vancouver Island, Russia had got 1,500 miles of seaboard. 2,800 miles up the Amoor steamers were built, the river was deep and wide, and, having built steamers, Russia pushed her way down and built a dockyard. Finding that Nikolaivsky was shut up by ice for a large part of the year, and having acquired the island of Saghalien, she had moved her dockyard, which was now so much nearer Vancouver Island. In the *Times*, the other day, there appeared an article in which considerable alarm was expressed with regard to the defence of the Colonies, and that was the reason he was taking up so much of their time on this subject. The places on the coast had been named after the French commanders, who, above all the people in the world, had given us the greatest trouble. She had a seaboard, a dockyard, and a mass of coal, on the island he had mentioned, opposite Vancouver Island. Down the Amoor the current ran very fast, and there were numerous military posts there. She had constructed railways pushing out from St. Petersburg towards the Amoor, and had put up a line of telegraph posts between her capital and Nikolaivsky, and any information from St. Petersburg could be made known on the Amoor in the course of a few minutes. There were extraordinary facilities for pushing troops down the Amoor, and when

they got down the river what protection was there for British Columbia? They might take it that there was some ground for alarm with regard to British Columbia. All these things had been carried out in Russia for Imperial purposes. She did not say to Siberia, "You are a little place, and a railway will not pay, and therefore you need not make it." She made the railway for the sake of the whole Empire, and, having made it, could concentrate a force in British Columbia which we should find it hard to contest. There were at present only two ways of reaching British Columbia in order to check an attack upon it, and one was by way of the Suez Canal and the Indian Ocean, and the other was by way of Cape Horn. In 1854, it must be remembered, we were beaten in that quarter of the world. He thought they would agree with him that what he had said was worth consideration, and that it would be seen that, unless the Colonies were protected from attack in this quarter, they would not be able to answer for Australia in the future. The intercolonial railway was a matter of importance to the whole nation and Empire. (Cheers.)

The Duke of MANCHESTER: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I certainly regret that anyone here should entertain the opinion that it is desirable, or even possible, for the Dominion of Canada, of which we are all so proud, to be cut adrift from Great Britain. I do not complain at all of Mr. Fisher expressing his opinions. We are very glad to hear all opinions of the kind stated; in fact, in this instance I think what Mr. Fisher said was very useful, because it gave opportunity for reply, and the expression of very loyal sentiments and gratifying hopes also. Still, I am sorry that Mr. Fisher should entertain these opinions, and I hope that the replies he received may have some effect in checking them. Dr. Fraser alluded to the fact that emigrants had lately been returning from America—especially from the United States, but also from Canada, This, I believe, is correct. He attributed it to the slackness of trade at present, but he also intimated that he thought it possible that emigration might be overdone, and that it would be desirable to give time to the Dominion to absorb the emigrants before there was any further great pressure of emigration to it. But I am happy to say that, though there may not be such facilities at present for the absorption of labour on account of the slackness of trade, another description of emigration has been originated, and as it was partly suggested by myself, I hope it will be successful. It is a system which some of us have been working, and I think successfully, in New Zealand. I suggested it to Mr. White, emigration agent at Glasgow, and he has on a large piece of ground near one

of the lakes put up small cabins ready for the emigrants when they arrive. They find they have shelter, and have the land cleared of timber, and can at once commence working. They find also that the employers of labour are able to give them work at satisfactorily remunerative wages. This system has worked well in New Zealand, and I hope it will work in a satisfactory way in Canada, because there is no limit to the amount of emigration that can be introduced in that way, except as regards the capital that can be employed in bringing the people. There is another point which struck me very much when I was in Canada, and I should have been glad if some one better acquainted with the country had touched upon it. As you are all well aware, the subject of local taxation has been very much referred to of late in Parliament and in the public press, and several attempts have been made to deal with it. I have never seen any public reference, however, made to the system in force in Ontario. It seemed to me to be a simple, logical, and practical one, and I should have wished that someone better acquainted with it than myself had attempted to describe it; but perhaps you will allow me to take this opportunity of making some reference to it. I have been informed that the townships have an elective assembly, presided over by a reeve, and I think in some cases where the townships are large there is also a deputy-reeve. These reeves and deputy-reeves of the townships form the council for a county. Is that so? (A VOICE: Yes, that is right.) And then the province transmits the precept to this council for any sums that are required for provincial purposes, and the county transmits the precept to each township for its share *pro rata* of the provincial expenses *plus* the county expenses, which are levied by the township as a rate on property and income. In that way all classes of property and income contribute equally and fairly, as it seems to me, to the different expenses of the country. (Hear, hear.) I mentioned that subject to a society in England, called the Local Taxation Society, but they don't seem to take much notice of it—they don't seem to introduce it into England. Some mention was made of the farms in Ontario. I am glad to be able to bear my testimony to the excellence of the farming there—about Hamilton especially. A most valuable country it seemed to me. I will not trouble you with any further remarks, but in your name will thank Dr. Fraser for his very able and interesting paper. (Hear, hear.)

Rev. Dr. FRASER, in acknowledging the compliment, said he had come at some inconvenience from Liverpool to read the paper, and he earnestly hoped that the little effort he had made to bring the subject before the meeting would be kindly accepted. He had not

done justice to the subject, and he did not profess to be *au fait* with the present aspect of Canadian affairs. He made a point of reading the Canadian papers every week, and kept up a close correspondence with Canada, and he rejoiced unfeignedly in every evidence he saw in public men in England of awakened interest in that very important part of the British Empire. (Hear, hear.)

The Hon. SECRETARY said for the future there should be in the room in which their meetings were held a map of the world, with the Colonies distinctly marked on it.

THIRD ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Third Ordinary General Meeting was held at the "Pall Mall," on Tuesday, January 23rd, 1877, Sir CHARLES NICHOLSON, Bart., in the Chair.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG, Hon. Secretary, read the minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting, which were confirmed. WILLIAM FOSTER, Esq., Agent-General for New South Wales, then read the following paper, entitled

FALLACIES OF FEDERATION.

The subject of Federation, and particularly of Colonial Federation, seems to present itself sometimes in very peculiar aspects, and even to exercise a species of fascination over certain minds, or classes of minds. It is naturally, perhaps, a favourite subject with public writers and speakers, partly, no doubt, from its purely political character, but chiefly I should think, judging from the style of thought and discussion it awakens, because it admits of a vast amount of abstract and even transcendental theorising, standing, as it does, greatly out of the range of common political experience, and consequently little liable to be checked or tested by facts. I do not mean to denounce or object to theory merely as such. But I expect most of you to agree with me in placing little value upon any theory, especially a political theory, which cannot stand the test of experience. Now, most of our theories of Colonial Federation are, and must for a long time to come remain, wanting in opportunities of application to such a test. Yet, perhaps for this very reason, they are so numerous, that, were it not for my fear of drawing down upon my head the holy wrath of some patriotic Lankester or public-spirited Donkin, and subject myself to be elaborately sentenced by an ingenious magistrate who brings his dictionary to the Bench to explain ambiguous legal interpretations, I should be inclined to suggest that the spirit of Abbè Sieyes still survives, and may have inspired much of the reasoning and speculation upon this subject.

The *Times* is a paper of which, whether Englishmen or colonists, we are all justly proud. But, "aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus." Even the *Times* is mortal, and subject to occasional fits of sleepi-

ness and human infirmity. And I confess I have been very much struck by the inconsequential character of the reasoning which has appeared in some of the leading articles and favoured correspondence of that journal upon the question of Colonial Federation in its African phase, or as applied to Cape of Good Hope politics. The Boers, or people of the Dutch Free States, have, as we all know, lately become involved in a warlike struggle with some of the native tribes upon their frontiers, which, to say the least of it, has hitherto proved extremely troublesome, and which threatens to be disastrous. From this war our own Colonies in the immediate neighbourhood have been as yet happily exempt, though whether, or how long, the exemption may continue, it would not be safe to conjecture; since it is impossible for anyone in the least acquainted with the characteristics of savage tribes or nations not to fear the spread of a conflagration so close to our own borders. But so far as we can judge at so great a distance from the theatre of events, the exemption appears to be in a great measure due to the judicious and humane policy of the British Government in dealing with the native tribes. Now, some time before the war broke out the British Government had taken great pains and exerted their utmost influence to introduce a system of local Federation, and to recommend it to the popular approval, not only of the British Colonies at the Cape, but to the two Free Dutch States, whose co-operation appears to have been invited, though whether such co-operation involves an absolute adoption of British nationality, and consequent surrender of national independence on the part of the Free States, I have not been able to learn. The efforts of the British Government for this purpose appear to have been hitherto unsuccessful, though guided or assisted by the able advocacy of Mr. Froude, whose mission to the various communities, or States, concerned seems to have even elicited a considerable amount of local hostility, or, at any rate, of aversion and antagonism to the proposal of the Government. These circumstances, strangely enough as it appears to me, have been used by writers in the *Times* and elsewhere as a sort of peg whereon to hang arguments in favour of Colonial Federation in general and at the Cape in particular. Rather illogically, in my humble judgment. "Behold," say these Federalists, "what a judgment the Boers have brought down upon their heads by their rash assertion of independence!" And it is argued, accordingly, that these doomed States will now be taught the benefits of union in the form of local Federation. Was there ever such a non-sequitur? True, if united with our Colonies in any shape or way the Free States would be obviously better off,

particularly when involved in a Kaffir war, than in their present isolation from more powerful neighbours. But it is not by any means obvious that the difficulties and dangers in which the Boers are involved have been caused by the want of Federation or Federal union.

For the contiguous Colonies are equally wanting in this species of union. And what, after all, is the great distinguishing feature between these Free States, both of which may, for the purposes of this discussion be considered, as no doubt they soon will be involved in the same unhappy warfare—which, I say, is the leading feature and mark of distinction between these Free States and the neighbouring British Colonies? Is it not that the former are alien States or Free States, as they have been proud to call themselves, and that the latter are British Colonies, and accordingly a part of the British nation and Empire? And it seems to be generally admitted that it is the marked difference in the treatment of the natives, or, in other words, the difference of native policy between the Free States on the one hand and the British Dominions on the other, which has in a great degree brought on this native war—has involved the former in their present difficulties, and created for the latter their happy exemption therefrom. Does it not then obviously follow that the true remedy for the disasters of the Boers would be British connection, and not Colonial Federation? How do these disasters in the least prove the necessity or advantages of Colonial Federation? If it all be true that is said about the superior humanity and judgment shown in our native policy, enforced as it is by British authority, and springing out of British connection, it argues surely a strange misconception of causes and effects to infer that these disasters might have been prevented, and are now capable of being obviated, by Colonial Federation, instead of by the more simple process of again admitting and including the Free States within the British Empire, to which they once belonged, with which all their important interests are in common, and of their ill-advised severance from which they now suffer, and which it is more than probable that our own Colonies may come to suffer the fatal consequences. For it is with us, as it is with other nations and with other human beings in relation to the political interests of their neighbours, and indeed to all human interests generally. We cannot divest ourselves of the consequences, we cannot avoid being bound by the laws of a common humanity; we cannot help being more or less implicated; we find ourselves ever more or less drawn into the vortex of human events and of the human world around us. And in the case of the Cape Colonies

we are now compelled, by an alarming crisis, the result of a former policy, to consider the part which we as a people have taken, or which our own Government has taken, in bringing that crisis about. For our own sakes we are driven to consider—in the interest and for the sake of a common humanity we are bound to consider—the wisdom and expediency of that policy by which these Free States were created, by which their so-called independence was permitted and assured; by which they were not only allowed but encouraged to sever themselves from British Empire and from British nationality and connection, and to construct, upon however small a scale it may be, another Empire and nationality, as rivals to our dominion and obstacles in the way of British progress into the interior of Africa, which belongs to us and to our race, if any country ever did, by the natural conquest of British enterprise, British courage and perseverance, and British blood and intellect. This is what we have done by the creation of these Free States. To say nothing of territory, not to speak of the surrender of empire and dominion, the abdication of sovereignty and national power—considerations which can be of little moment to a certain class of politicians, to those political realists who love to gloat over the “ruins of empires,” and to feast their eyes, as it were, upon the carcasses of nations; whose mission seems to be to scatter into original chaos the constituent forces and elements that constitute the power and greatness of national organisations—we now find that with territory and dominion we have lost something more, something which may possibly touch the sympathies of even the most practical statesmen—we have lost our command over the native policy. We have failed to control—we have actually given up our right to control—the relations between the native and European races. We have by these acts of dismemberment failed to do what otherwise we might have done to prevent a Kaffir war. We have been in a great measure the means of indirectly bringing about this very warfare, which our own policy was calculated and intended to avoid, and which we now shall probably not be able to avoid, in spite of our utmost efforts to the contrary. These are the penalties of disintegration, the consequences of a fatuous policy, the judgment that waits upon misgovernment. And to remedy these evils, to escape these penalties, we are called upon by the Government and urged by writers in newspapers, to establish, by Imperial authority, a system of local Federation at the Cape. I have been somewhat surprised to learn—and I think it must surprise most people who take an interest in Colonial affairs, and who have become acquainted with the results and circumstances of Mr.

Froude's late mission there, and the local feeling it awakened—that the Imperial Government still persist, after all that has happened, in what may be termed their Federal Policy for the Colonies, and that a Bill is to be introduced next session into the Imperial Parliament for the express purpose of inaugurating or establishing a Federal system at the Cape. I am aware, as of course my hearers generally are aware, that it is quite possible that Colonial Federation may be defended or advocated upon other grounds than as a means of warding off or carrying on successfully a frontier war with neighbouring savages. And there can be no doubt that in their endeavours to establish a Federal system of Government at the Cape, the British Government must have other objects in view than the benefit and interest of the Dutch settlers, or to recover those insignificant States to the Imperial dominion.

But I ask, Is not this another instance of a fallacy connected with the question of Colonial Federation, to suppose, or take it for granted, that such a system can be successfully introduced into any community, much less into a British Colony, by the mechanical agency of remote, and what for practical purposes is in fact alien, legislation, and in direct opposition to, or without the concurrence of, local feelings, sympathies, and opinions? How often have we been told that constitutions must grow, and that they cannot be made, much less extemporised, to suit some apparent crisis or emergency; that they must, on the contrary, to be of any value—to be effective as instruments or agencies of natural progress and prosperity—spring naturally out of the circumstances, and adapt themselves to the character and disposition, of a people. And why is an exception to be made in the case of Federal constitutions, which cannot but involve an extreme, if not a violent, revolution for the communities they concern?

It is true that in a recent article the *Times* has drawn a distinction between the Cape and the Australian Colonies, and has shown itself disposed to admit that the necessity or desirability of Federation does not exist so strongly in the case of the latter as in that of the former Colonies. But this distinction is not easily sustainable or even conceivable from an abstract or general point of view. And I think it will be seen from what follows that, except in one particular, the practical arguments for or against Federation apply equally to all British Colonies.

And is there not abundant evidence at least to create a doubt whether the desire or approval of a Federal system has yet taken sufficient hold of the public mind in most British Colonies to justify

the Government in prematurely forcing such a system or such a policy upon any British Colony? So far as my testimony is worth anything, I should say the question as yet has taken but very slight hold of the Colonial mind. Now and then appears an enthusiastic letter in a newspaper, or an occasional speech is made on some public or quasi-public occasion by an excited orator, seeking notoriety or elbow room for his thoughts at the expense of his audience, or it may be by some eminent public personage who believes he has a mission or duty, recommending Federation afresh to public favour and confidence. Such a speech was lately delivered at Albury by Sir Hercules Robinson, the Governor of New South Wales, obviously an able speaker and thinker, but who showed himself on this occasion a better speaker than thinker. This speech is one which upon the very face of it can hardly recommend itself to practical minds, and, with all its eloquence and rhetorical ability, could not have been expected to produce, and I venture to predict that it will not produce, much practical effect, or indeed anything more than a very transitory impression. Of course a Governor's speech was bound to waken up the Press, and elicit the due response of a certain amount of newspaper criticism; and this Governor's speech has already been very well dealt with in one or more of the leading London papers, particularly in a late article of the *Daily Telegraph* of December 30th, 1876. Its arguments, whatever they may be worth—and they are certainly not wanting in force—I shall of course have to notice, and, if possible, answer further, on in this paper. I need say no more of them now than that they are the usual stock arguments in favour of Federation, and have been anticipated in a clever paper in *Fraser's Magazine* of November last—not the article, I need scarcely say, so satisfactorily disposed of before this Institute by Mr. Dennistoun Wood—which I shall also have to notice by and by. But the speech alluded to affords a good illustration of the sort of amateur interest felt in the subject by Australian colonists, which, unless galvanised by some writer or orator into temporary life, otherwise lives, if it can be said to live at all, a sort of life in death, dragging on, like an abortive birth, a painful and languid existence, sustained by so much of the milk of human kindness as consists in occasional solemn mention, as of a millennium or dubious paradise, to which its votaries look forward without hope and pray for without emotion. For of course we have our political theorists and constitution mongers in the Colonies; and where is the British community or commonwealth that has them not? But Sir Hercules does not seem to have been aware, or he would surely have been more

careful of the reputation and credit due to earlier prophets of the same evangel, that in New South Wales the question of Federation has in a manner been publicly weighed and found wanting. Several years ago, with all due formality and solemnity, a select committee of the Legislative Council, or Upper House—a body generally considered as best adapted to deal with abstract questions and propound a theoretical policy—was appointed to inquire and report upon the subject. The committee sat, and examined witnesses, rather, perhaps, for the sake of form than with any idea of obtaining such testimony as is generally sought from witnesses, and obviously less to record experiences than to elicit opinions. The result was a voluminous, carefully-prepared, and no doubt in many respects admirable, report. But this report was the only result, that is to say, another theory or agglomeration of theories. The report came to nothing. It was never acted on. No one ever thought of such a consummation, however “devoutly to be wished.” And from that hour the agitation upon the question—if agitation it were—appears to have died a natural death, or it may be has fallen into a state of mesmerism or catalepsy. Certainly it has not since revived in any tangible shape or form, and the probability is, were Federation at any future time to be demanded or considered desirable in New South Wales, the labours of this committee would have all to be done over again.

I have already adverted to the evident indifference or disinclination shown to Federation by apparently a powerful and considerable portion of the Cape population, from which all the wise, charming, and subtle argumentations of Mr. Froude appear to have been unable to rouse them. And in Barbados the question has evoked a sort of tropic hurricane, which has swept over the island with an ominous warning of possible and prospective dangers, and has apparently left behind it consequences which at present we cannot trace. In New Zealand, too, a similar lesson has been taught of the futility of Federal theories, enforced or imposed by Imperial legislation. A most complete Federal system on a small scale existed there created by Act of Parliament. It had the advantage of being freed from the competition of rival systems. It had no earlier growth, whether exotic or indigenous, to contend against or obliterate. It was the first and only form of representative Government in New Zealand. But it has been long denounced, and it is now being stamped out with the nearly unanimous approval of the Colony, and a general central Government substituted. The analogy, perhaps, is not perfect. But it proves that

the true Federal spirit is not very prevalent, or it has not yet taken root in New Zealand.

On the other hand, those who advocate Federation in the abstract, will point for a practical example of the correctness of their views to the great Dominion of Canada. But the history of this specimen of Colonial Federation has yet to be written. We can scarcely draw from that quarter any lessons of experience. I shall therefore content myself with two remarks upon this example. (1) The proximity of the United States supplied the experiments with a peculiar element of local danger and antagonism, which has been in all probability the cause of its temporary, and which may contribute to its future, success. Nothing of this element—nothing like it—exists in other British Colonies. (2) It is somewhat significant that upon the first appearance of local discontent—a disagreement with reference to a vital question—secession has suggested itself to the aggrieved province as the only remedy. I allude, of course, to the recent agitation for railway extension in British Columbia, which appears to have ended in an absolute breach of contract and non-fulfilment of the conditions upon which the concurrence of British Columbia in the scheme of Federation was obtained, on the part of the dominant majority, and consequent denial of Federal rights to the weaker party.

Now with regard to the writer in *Fraser's Magazine*, to whom I have already alluded, it will be seen that I take no objection to his general conclusions, whether from an Australian point of view, to which the article is for the most part confined, or from any other. Indeed, the general purport of the article might be easily shown, notwithstanding its advocacy of Colonial Federation under certain circumstances and conditions, to be not inconsistent with the purposes of this paper. But I think it right to say here that this advocate of Australian Federation does not appear to me to have in any way proved his preliminary statement "that the Australian Colonies . . . are beginning to consider very favourably the project of a more or less complete Federation of their whole country." On the contrary, such a statement exhibits a strange inconsistency with the writer's own subsequent admission of "the intense jealousy which appears to exist between" Melbourne and Sydney, and his remarking that "to such an extent has this been carried, that Mr. Robinson, the Premier of New South Wales, is now accused of deliberately stopping the extension of the inter-colonial line at Wagga-Wagga, instead of continuing it to the connection at Albury, out of sheer spite to Victoria;" as well as with the fact, to which the writer subsequently adverts as an

argument for the necessity of Federation, that this important connection still remains to be accomplished. I am happy to have this opportunity, from my intimate knowledge of Mr. Robinson's character and political views, of giving a flat contradiction to the accusation, which, I may add, is certainly not credited by the generality of intelligent persons in Victoria, and which probably had its origin in party animosity in New South Wales. But I readily admit that such a feeling does exist in New South Wales among a considerable number, and that the extension of the railway to Albury has been actually opposed, and perhaps even retarded, for this very reason—a clear proof to my mind of the absence of a Federal spirit, or of any general desire for Federation on the part of either Colony.

I dare say the questions have been often asked before, What is, or is meant by Federation? And what are its purposes or objects? But I am not aware that either Federation itself, or its purposes or objects, have been ever satisfactorily defined. Yet these questions stare us in the face at the very outset of the general question of Colonial Federation. To answer them it may not be improper—nay, it seems an obvious course—to refer to those national unions, or associated nationalities, to which the term has been historically applied. Of these the earliest that presents itself in any definite and tangible shape is that of the Achæan League. Other similar Federations have probably existed before, but of their modes of operation, or even of their existence as such, we have no record so distinct or tangible as to enable us to place them within the category of national Federation. Whether by good or evil fortune, they have found no place in history. They have not been celebrated by the historic muse—

“ In vain they toiled, in vain they bled—
They had no poet, and are dead.”

I pass over, as scarcely historical, those federations of Mexican and Central American tribes or nations which have been painted in glowing colours by the pens of Spanish and of American historians, for the simple reason that the accounts derived from these sources have been discredited by later writers, and, at least until further inquiry, cannot be regarded as free from suspicion.

To return, therefore, to the Achæan League. This was an association of sovereign States, each retaining a distinct autonomy and distinct local institutions, limited by the laws and covenants of the League, and subject to its collective authority and purposes. This subjection or surrender of sovereign authority, and, so far, of

individual action, purported to be voluntarily made, though doubtless, as a matter of fact, it was sometimes imposed upon some of the weaker States by a combination of argument, intermingled with a judicious application of force and guile, such as a subtle Greek like Aratus, who was the soul and life of the Achæan League, knew how to apply without awakening too much local prejudice, or too deeply wounding local pride. But, whatever the local differences, the similarity in race, language, religion, and political institutions, rendered the amalgamation easy, and impressed upon it a truly national character. But the leading feature of the League was the independent and strictly sovereign character of its component States, each of whom assumed to enter the League by its individual will, and to be entitled to a proportionate voice in its collective acts and deliberations. These characteristics, but particularly that of a sovereign will and individuality originally enjoyed and asserted by the federal units of the League, have exhibited themselves more or less throughout those subsequent associations of the same kind which history has classified under a similar designation. The Swiss Cantons, and the States or Kingdoms of the ancient German Confederation, into whatever changes of conditions or relations they may have grown or drifted since, and notwithstanding the prescriptive and old historical character of their respective Federations, stood to each other originally in the position of sovereign and independent States, bound by equivalent ties and conditions, and exerting an equal or proportionate voice and influence upon the central Federal authority. In the case of the Provinces of the United Netherlands, the union was more modern and factitious, and accordingly more obviously a voluntary compact of independent authorities. And now, to come to the United States of America, which are commonly, and perhaps justly, regarded as the model of both modern Democracy and Federation, we have lately seen the doctrines of independent sovereignty and of the coincident right of secession put down by military force. Nay, are we not at this moment witnessing in the same quarter a similar, but still more outrageous, infraction and violation of what are called constitutional, but at any rate are common and legal rights, upon the part of an armed and dominant majority—in fact, by the very authority of the government itself—in the intrusion of a military force into legislatures and electoral halls, and the expulsion and intimidation by this means of legislators and electors? But we are accustomed to these little eccentricities and inconsistencies in the free and enlightened citizens of a model Republic. We are bound to expect, and make charitable allowance for, the perpetual contrast there between

loud profession and proclamation of universal freedom and equality, and the denial of rights to subjugated minorities. Rights, however, are not so easily annihilated, and "facts are stubborn things." There is nothing, in the long run, stronger than a principle. "Truth is strong, and will prevail." Nor can any exercise or exhibition of brute force or arbitrary power, however much it may seem to triumph for a time, contradict the historical fact that these doctrines of the independent sovereignty of each State of that pretentious Union, and of the absolute right of secession of each, were primarily inherent in—nay, were the very foundation of—that Federal compact by which the United States of America were originally bound and associated, and in virtue of which their component peoples formed themselves into what is now called an American nation. The tendency to centralisation and consequent assimilation and absorption of local rights and interests in the National Idea—of which the abolition or abnegation of State sovereignty by the late war is but a phase or symptom—was long ago foretold by De Tocqueville, and predicated by the same writer as one of the inevitable tendencies of modern democratic Federation. De Tocqueville's prediction and predication are confirmed, and the tendency in question is observable in the history of the Germanic Confederation, which, under whatever guise of respect for old forms and associations, is now practically consolidated into the German nation. In other words, the Federal tends to be, and in the cases referred to has been, absorbed into the National. From these examples, however, it may be taken to be established beyond controversy that the leading idea or principle of National Federation, in its historic sense, was the union of independent sovereignties, and even in some cases of separate nations or nationalities. For there was nothing in the old Federations to prevent this union of nationalities. In the Germanic Confederation as it originally existed—and even in the modern forms by which the old idea is partially represented, or into which it has become developed—several distinct nationalities have been absorbed or amalgamated. In the United States of America the utmost facilities are afforded for the incorporation of aliens. But the union in all these cases was always intended to be, and so far was in fact, a permanent union. It was in this respect clearly distinguishable from that sort of national union or organisation such as exists between or binds together the citizens or the several parts or provinces of an empire, kingdom, or community, such as the Roman, British, or Russian Empires, or the Italian Kingdom. Nor was such Federal union a mere league for temporary purposes of aggression or territorial

aggrandisement or national defence, like the League of Cambray against Venice, the Holy Alliance (so-called) against the Great Napoleon, or the late Alliance of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Turkey against Russia in the Crimean War. Nor, again, was such union in any sense parochial or municipal. Parochial, municipal, or local interests were never, as a rule, included among the cases of sovereign, or federal, or central administration. It is easier to define negatively than positively. Nearly everyone knows what a thing is not, while it is not everyone who is able to state precisely what it is. Federation, then, is not a strictly national union, though it is a union of nations. Nor is it a league or alliance for temporary purposes. Nor does it consist in parochial or municipal incorporation.

But even affirmatively, from the observations already made, Federation, in its historical sense, may not be improperly defined as a permanent national union, aggregation, or amalgamation of independent sovereign and separate States, nations, or nationalities. It is evident, therefore, that in some of their most important features these historical Federations essentially differed from the Federation of Colonies, which are not independent States, which have no sovereign powers wherewith to invest or to surrender to a central Government, and which for the most part in their public affairs concern themselves with parochial and municipal, or at any rate with provincial and not imperial interests.

This becomes still more obvious when we proceed to inquire, and it is of course most important to inquire, what are the purposes of Federation? The answer to this question must naturally come from the same source as the answer to our first. Indeed, it scarcely needs to be pointed out, after what has been already said, that the purposes of national Federation must generally consist in the application to national purposes of the old proverb, "Union is strength," or, in other words, nations or communities have sought in Federation that superior strength which commonly results from union and organisation. It seems to follow that these purposes are properly limited to such as are not attainable by other means or methods. And as a matter of fact this limitation has been carried out in practice by all Federations. Each component nation or State has preserved more or less of the control and management of its own provincial and even national affairs, in so far as the municipal surrender or absorption of these in the central administration was not considered necessary to the general interest. Autonomy was too inherent in, was too fixed a principle of, the Greek mind to have rendered it possible for such a combination as the Achæan

League to have been formed, if the practical local independence and self-government of each State had not been expressly and thoroughly secured. We know that in the Swiss cantons and the Netherlands absolute uniformity was rendered impossible by religious differences ; and even to this day each State of these respective Federations retains quite enough of local privileges and independence to show how jealously was the principle of individual sovereignty guarded and asserted in ancient times under the original compact. In Spain, almost under our eyes as it were, the last throes of expiring Federalism and of State sovereignty are seen in the recurrence of the otherwise inexplicable insurrections and convulsions of that perplexing country—convulsions which indicate and exemplify the constant collision between progressive democratic centralisation and the memory or existence of local rights and privileges, which strike an occasional feeble spark from the ashes of that ancient Federalism, far less jealous as it was of local independence than is ever likely to be the case with modern democracy.

Federal government, historically speaking, ever was and is a national Government, and as such concerns itself with national interests in their widest sense. The central Governments of Federations, like all other central Governments, and especially democratic Governments, have often gone out of their way to meddle with insignificant or with strictly local matters not properly within their province or capacity. In fact, as we all know, the tendency of all Governments has been, and is, to grasp functions and burden themselves with cares which had been better entrusted to local or individual vigilance or enterprise. But of these functions and cares a certain class, and that the most important, must from their very nature have necessarily belonged to, must have been exclusively possessed and exercised by, the central Government of every Federation. This has been the case with all Federations. To take the most modern and obvious instance. The Federal Government, so-called, of the United States, including the Legislature, of course possesses exclusive authority in disposing of questions of peace or war, and of commerce in its wider and more general branches, not to speak of certain phases of taxation which, however, though not easily separable from considerations of commerce, have in them quite enough of a local element not to be necessarily included among sovereign powers. In a word, Federal Government has always dealt, and must deal, with what may be comprehensively termed foreign relations. It appears, then, that the very use of the term Federation, as applied to a number of associated Colonies, involves something of a fallacy, and that if the word be so applied, it must be interpreted in a widely different sense

from that which is understood in its application to combinations of nations, or of sovereign States. Whether we define the meaning of Federation, or inquire into its purposes, we must still distinguish Federation in its general and historical sense from what may be termed Colonial Federation. This latter species of Federation cannot mean or include an association of sovereignties, or imply any surrender of sovereign powers or authorities. It cannot mean a strictly national union. Nor, again, however efficacious may Colonial Federation be for certain purposes, these purposes cannot embrace the most important of those foreign relations which were dealt with authoritatively and conclusively by the sovereign power, wielded by and vested in the old historical Federations, or possessed at this moment by the Federal Governments of the United States, of Germany, of Switzerland, and of the Netherlands. It is not intended, nor is it possible, that these Colonial Federations shall deal with Imperial questions, with the question of peace or war, or even with the more general branches of commercial relations in their more extended or national forms. The Canadian Dominion has not the power, however aggrieved or injured she may be by an aggressive and insolent neighbour, of declaring or making war for herself, still less of involving the British Empire in a war on her account. Still less is it intended that the proposed Federations of West Indian or Cape Colonies shall possess their privileges. What, then, does Great Britain mean, what does the Imperial Government mean, by Colonial Federation? What advantages are proposed to be conferred by Colonial Federation? But, above all, what advantages are thereby proposed which are incompatible with, or are unattainable by, British connection, either as it now subsists, or by its extension to other independent States, such as the Free States at the Cape, which are not at present included in the British Empire?

- It is possible that the time may come, however distant and difficult to recognise at present, when the relations of the mother-country towards her Colonies may become strictly Federal, and may require to be provided for by Federal machinery, and arranged upon Federal principles. The time may, nay, must come—if we stick together, as I hope and trust we may to the very end—when the relative insignificance and weakness of the Colonies on the one hand, and the relative importance and power of Great Britain on the other, will be so altered, that it may be found convenient, nay, even imperative, to give the Colonies, by some means or other, a larger voice and influence in Imperial, or I may say, in Federal, affairs—when the Colonies, in short, will require and attain to

something of a Federal position. But at present their Federalism virtually consists in British connection, their Federal, that is to say their general, requirements and necessities, are met and satisfied by British control and supervision, and by their inclusion in the British Empire.

Now I have shown that the foreign relations which a sovereign or Imperial authority, whether Federal or not, must, in the very nature of things, conclusively govern and determine, involve questions of peace, and war, or national defence, and the wider relations of commerce. But I have shown also that in these respects Colonial Federation will have no authority whatever. Will Colonial Federation be more effective for purposes of national defence than the protection of the British Government, in combination with local forces and fortifications? Even in the case of the Free States at the Cape, if our intervention be sought for, the Imperial Government will insist on being allowed to arrange or dictate the terms of peace, and to take measures against the recurrence of another war—*a fortiori*, in the case of any war on behalf of British Colonies, whether associated in Federal union or not. But it must be borne in mind that so long as any Colonies are British Colonies, the British Government are bound to protect them, and would protect them, in case of war. So with the Dutch Free States if they should become British Colonies, but not otherwise. And Great Britain is also bound to bear, and could not avoid bearing, the chief cost of such war. What more will Federation give or secure to any British Colony?

Turn we now to the writer in *Fraser*, Sir Hercules Robinson, and other writers and speakers on the same side. Let us endeavour to ascertain from these intelligent sources, favourable to Colonial Federation, what benefits it is proposed or expected thereby to confer upon British Colonies, or in particular upon those Colonies selected by this writer as an example. These proposed benefits may be briefly enumerated under the heads of (1) railways, (2) waste lands, (3) emigration, (4) customs, (5) national or local defences.

And, first, with regard to railways, it is argued that Federation would promote railway extension, and above all direct it with greater certainty towards general, or national, purposes and interests. It is complained of specially that the trunk line of connection between Sydney and Melbourne is prevented or delayed by local jealousies, and assumed that its extension would soon or immediately follow as an effect of Federation. I have already admitted the existence of these local jealousies, and their partial

effect in the case referred to. But their effect has been only partial. It remains yet to be proved that the Government and Legislature of New South Wales have been wrong in the general course of their railway policy, which has included a certain extension towards Melbourne, and in particular whether they have been wrong in as yet proceeding no further in that direction than they have proceeded. I look on it as certain that Sydney and Melbourne will one day or other be connected by railways, and I believe it to be for the interests of both Colonies that these cities should be so connected. But it is wrong to assume that the work has been altogether prevented by local jealousies. The question has been actually settled by the balance of votes. A certain amount of expenditure for railway purposes was practicable. It was not considered expedient to provide for railway extension to every point, or along every line of route where railways might be considered, or even admitted, to be probably desirable or necessary a hundred years hence. Every administration in New South Wales has found it advisable, nay, has been compelled, to divide this expenditure, or to make a show of dividing it, among the three main districts or divisions of the country, north, south, and west. This was insisted on by—is perhaps a result, good or evil, of—universal suffrage.

Was universal suffrage wrong? It may be said that, if not local jealousies, local interests prevailed to the injury of general interests. But what proof is there that under Federation, with a similar system of voting (for a higher suffrage than at present prevails would not be tolerated a moment in any Australian Colony), general interests would be more considered, or local influences less predominant? True, they would operate differently, and the present equilibrium most probably be disturbed. But the question would still be determined by the balance of votes. The interests of Victoria, added to those of the southern districts, would probably hasten the extension towards Albury and Melbourne. But is any one prepared to assert positively that other interests, nay, even general interests, might not be sacrificed by such preponderance? And with this consequence before their eyes, how is the assent to or concurrence in Federation of the electors of those portions of New South Wales who think differently, or of other electors of South Australia who would possibly disapprove of the extension and expenditure in question, to be obtained? Either the governing majority in New South Wales are right in this matter, or they are wrong. If right, is it fair to convert them into a minority under another form of Government? If wrong, they have to be convinced before you can accomplish Federation. And, after all, is

not this a question upon which local opinions and interests ought in some measure to prevail? A railway is a species of road. And surely, in the matter of a road between two places, the inhabitants and other parties interested in using the road are likely to be the best judges. And what security is there that right will always be done, or justice rigidly administered to all parties concerned, in a matter of the sort under a Federal system? A rather different lesson is taught us by what has lately occurred in the case of British Columbia, whose demand for a main trunk line of railway has been in a very high-handed manner contemptuously refused by a dominant majority, not only in apparent opposition to general interests, but in violation of a compact which was the very foundation of, and formed the chief consideration for, the accession of British Columbia to the Federal compact itself.

Secondly, with regard to waste lands, it is complained that Imperial interests, and in particular British interests, have been sacrificed by the surrender of these lands to the local governments and legislatures. It may be so. But it is quite gratuitously assumed that a Federal Legislature would remedy the mischief thereby supposed to be done. Every Colony bids for popularity and population by offering, or appearing to offer, extreme facilities for the acquisition of land by that class which constitutes the chief body of voters. And there can be no doubt that in a Federal Legislature every Colony would continue this sort of bidding in the persons of its representatives. The only contest would be that greater facilities should not be offered in one Colony or Province than in another. And the result would be that the most popular system, and not the one most conducive to Imperial or even to general interests, would extend itself throughout the Federation.

Thirdly, it may be reasonably doubted whether a Federal Legislature, based upon the same mode and principles of representation, would administer the funds derived from land, or any other funds applicable for the purpose, so as more effectively to promote or encourage emigration from other parts of the Empire, or of the civilised world, or to establish or regulate it in a more permanent and regular shape. The principles of Trades Unions and International Societies—strangely so-called—increase with the influx and increase of population in the Australian Colonies. These societies have on many occasions and in many ways evinced their hostility to immigration and to the expenditure of public funds for this purpose. In every large city or town a considerable party exists holding the same views. And as, again, the question depends greatly upon votes, the probability is that Federation would

afford equal if not greater facilities for organised political opposition, than of any movement favourable to immigration.

Fourthly. It is confidently expected by our Federal theorists that under Federation, rational views of taxation would prevail, free trade flourish, and that Victoria in particular would abandon its perverse proclivities in favour of protection. But in New South Wales, especially in Sydney and others of the larger cities or towns, there is a large party in favour of protection. And unless great pains were taken—for the success of which we have no guarantee, and the propriety of which may be doubted—to counteract or prevent the preponderance of large cities or towns in the Federal Legislature, the populations of these large cities or towns would exert a more than proportionate influence upon Federal legislation. At any rate, they would exert a corresponding influence, and the protective party in Victoria could not fail to recruit itself considerably from the other Colonies. And looking at the decided protective tendencies of modern democracy, it seems to me reasonable to hold it an open question whether Australian Federation would advance the interests of free trade. Thus to the Victorian protectionists the prospect of free trade would furnish an unanswerable argument against Federation, while, on the other hand, free-traders have reason to fear lest Federation may only assume another and more aggravated form, namely, its virtual extension to all the neighbouring Colonies, and the limitation of free trade simply to the Federal group.

Fifthly. As for national defences—inasmuch as they would involve local expenditure, irrespectively of foreign relations, that is to say, expenditure upon local points of defence, or where defence of a long line of coast might appear or be considered necessary—this, again, would be a question of political compromise or balance of votes between the several ports or Colonies concerned; nor is it quite certain that all or any of such Colonies would contribute willingly to such a purpose, were it not that it fortunately happens that each has a nearly proportionate extent of coast to be defended; while the Volunteer or Militia enrolments—which from the nature of the country and the habits of the population it is much more difficult and expensive to concentrate in Australia than in older countries—would in all probability continue to be distributed under a Federal system much as they are at present, according as each locality, by its increase in population or political importance can contrive to impress upon the Legislature its local demand for military parade and expenditure.

But, after all, are not all these questions, strictly speaking, local questions—questions which each Colony might determine for itself,

with its present administrative machinery, by arrangement or negotiation with its neighbours, as has already been done by some of the Colonies in question, in the cases of postal rates and subsidies, and border customs? Is Federation absolutely necessary to settle these, or similar questions? For it cannot be too often repeated that the question for us is, not whether certain good can be accomplished by means of, whether certain benefits can be obtained by, Federation, but whether to accomplish this good, to attain these benefits, Federation is absolutely necessary; whether these ends cannot be accomplished or attained by the means—the administrative machinery—already at our disposal. In railways and steam navigation it often happens that improvements in machinery are proposed, but which are very properly not adopted, either because the advantages to be anticipated may be obtained by some slight alteration or extension of machinery already in use, or because they are not worth the enormous cost and risk of whatever alteration may be necessary. So it is with political reforms; so it is with the question of Colonial Federation. The introduction of such a system in each case involves a revolution—nay, perhaps, a very violent revolution, as witness the Barbados experiment. The British Government and Parliament have no right to inflict this revolution upon any Colony or group of Colonies unless with the full consent of the Colonies concerned, or unless it can be shown that such a course is absolutely necessary for Imperial interests, for the interests of the Empire generally, in short, for the interests of us all. Some Colonies, perhaps, are too large, as compared with others, so large as to be unwieldy, and to present obstacles to a complete recognition of what is due to remote or insignificant localities. Others are probably too small, and, consequently, too much disposed to narrow local views and petty politics. It may be that too much of this petty local spirit exhibits itself in each separate Government and Legislature of any group of Colonies which may be chosen by some political theorist as a theatre for his Federal experiments. But their separation into certain forms and sizes was determined by the Imperial Government after considerable deliberation, and in apparent acquiescence with the wishes of the parties principally concerned, expressed at the time with almost perfect unanimity. Each separate Colony often embraces a large territory, more than equal in extent to many a modern kingdom. On what grounds is it assumed that a Federal form of Government will be more satisfactory, or will do more justice to general wants and interests than a single Government presiding over the whole territory which it is

proposed to incorporate into a Federal system? Such a system would be merely another sort of representative Government upon a larger scale, and the central Legislature, whether consisting of representatives of districts, provinces, or colonies, would contain much the same class of men, divided into similar parties, and influenced by the same kind of local pressure, such as operate in the case of existing Colonial Legislative Assemblies. Upon points of local interest, affecting or supposed to affect in any important degree the special interests of any Colony or number of Colonies, the representatives of the Colonies would inevitably vote together as a rule, and, consequently, such questions would inevitably be determined by the balance of votes. And the probability is that, as exemplified in the case of British Columbia, "the weakest would go to the wall," and the interests and feelings of remote or insignificant portions of the Federation would be sacrificed to those of the dominant majority, real or apparent. At present every Colony has its own interests in its own keeping. The virtual relation with other Colonies are matters of negotiation and arrangement in which it has an equal and independent voice with the largest or most important Colony of the Empire. Its Federal relations are definitely settled by the Imperial Government and Legislature upon grounds and considerations which, however imperfectly weighed or understood, are not much affected by the balance of votes in other Colonies. The Imperial Government is often ignorant and indifferent in its dealings with Colonial rights and interests, so far as they are involved in Imperial questions. It may be sometimes prejudiced and unjust; but of late years it has invariably shown itself open to persistent reasoning and persevering remonstrance. From a Federal Government, on the other hand, there would, in the nature of things, be no appeal, much less any appeal to the Imperial Parliament. And the experience of history generally, and particularly in the case of British Columbia, tends to prove that popular bodies are very apt to exhibit an obstinate and almost implacable persistency in the wrongs they have once deliberately perpetrated, as if one of the effects of popular discussion was to aggravate the arbitrary character of all tyranny, and the unjust character of all injustice. In fact, it is a question of proportion,—of the proportion, that is to say, between area and population on the one hand, and of existing political machinery and requirements on the other; of the proportion between the amount of trouble and expense involved in the change proposed, and of the probable benefits derivable therefrom.

But there is one effect which might flow from Colonial Federation

which has perhaps dimly disclosed itself to its Imperial advocates, namely, that it would probably afford facilities for Imperial taxation, or, in other words, for obtaining contributions for Colonial revenues towards general purposes. The question of taxation and expenditure, for whatever purposes, once submitted to, and the power of appropriation of Colonial revenue grasped by a central authority, there can be no doubt that British official influence, whether rightly or wrongly, might be more easily brought to bear upon its exercise, and contributions towards the expenses of war, or for the apparent benefit or regulation of commerce, be more readily obtained, than from a number of separate Governments and Legislatures. In other words, Federation might be indirectly effective for purposes of Colonial taxation. But over any expenditure thus granted or obtained, the Colonies would, by dint of Federation, have no more general control than at present. So long as each Federation were to remain a part of the British Empire, the same reasons would continue as now exist in the case of separate Colonies for withholding from Federal Legislatures those Imperial functions by which such expenditure is directed and controlled. All else is in their own power without Federation. And something more is in their power which by Federation they would lose, namely, the independent right of standing apart or holding aloof as a separate Colony or communities from any joint action or expenditure of which a single Colony or a few Colonies might disapprove.

Colonial Federation, then, would not confer upon the Colonies any additional power or voice in Imperial affairs. I ask, then, what advantages would it confer upon them as British Colonies? In fact, the conclusion we are driven to by the most cursory examination of the question is, that Federation can give them nothing which is not attainable in their present condition, so long as they remain a portion of the British Empire. Of course it is easy to find an answer, and perhaps to certain political thinkers a satisfactory answer, from a totally different point of view,—from the point of view under which it would seem the question has been examined by another writer in *Fraser's Magazine*, dealt with on a late occasion by Mr. Dennistoun Wood—from the point of view, in fact, of dismemberment of the Empire, and separation one by one, or simultaneously, by a sort of gigantic spontaneous fusion, into a number of so-called nations or nationalities. I quite admit, if it be required of me, that Colonial Federation forms a proper prelude to Imperial dismemberment. Nay, some advocate of Colonial Federation may be, for aught I know, a very John the Baptist, and his voice that of one crying in the wilderness to a kingdom of heaven of that sort.

If we are to regard the British Empire as a vast agglomeration of nations, or sovereignties, or communities—whatever we please to call them—temporarily bound together by no lasting historical ties of race, affection, and common nationality; but only by interest, or force of habit, or mechanical compulsion, ready to tumble to pieces like those lower forms of animal life to which I have already alluded, or like a mere concourse of heterogeneous atoms, upon the first shock or impulse from without of counteracting motives, it may be our duty to prepare the Colonies, it may be the duty of the Colonies themselves to prepare, by preliminary consolidation into incipient nationalities for the ultimate forms which their various groups are calculated or destined to assume. But if, on the other hand, we neither intend nor expect the Colonies to separate into distinct nations; if we wish the integrity of the British Empire to remain a constant fact, so far as we know even to the end of the world, and all its component parts to be bound together so long as our race shall last in one Imperial organisation and undivided Empire, then it does appear to me that it is neither our interest nor duty, neither the interest nor duty of the British people or Government, to inaugurate or establish as a settled policy this policy of Colonial Federation. I do not say that the Colonies shall not group themselves into Federal systems, or form Federations at their own will and pleasure; but I cannot see that it is a duty of the Imperial Government to encourage such Federation, or to induce any Colonies to embrace such a policy, otherwise than by their own spontaneous action, to which, in my judgment, the question may be safely left for many years to come.

I confess the more I examine this question of Colonial Federation, the more I feel inclined to regard the spirit by which it is apparently animated as antagonistic, if not fatal, to Imperial unity, and the efforts of the Government, however well intended in that direction, as more or less tending to the disintegration of the Empire. Nations, and perhaps all human communities or associations, may be figured as influenced or acted on in their various phases by counteracting attractions, which, like the centripetal and centrifugal forces of nature, affecting and regulating the motions and regulations of the spheres, are probably no more than diversified phases of one and the same original force. Nationality is the centripetal attraction which binds the various groups and component parts of an Empire to a common centre. Every local attraction is centripetal to its own centre, but centrifugal as regards the common centre of nationality. Federalism, or Federation, is but one form in which the centripetal force exhibits itself. The centripetal ten-

dency of British Colonies exhibits and, as it were, satisfies itself in their British connection. They have shown as yet little of that phase of centripetal force which tends to aggregate them into Colonial groups, and which our Colonial Federations are intended or calculated to create or encourage. It seems consistent with analogy to infer that in proportion as you strengthen the local centripetalism, you weaken that which binds them to the Imperial centre, and accordingly aggravate or induce the tendency to separate into local groups, or, if you will, Colonial nationalities. Is it our wish, our duty, our interest, to create such nationalities? If so, let us by all means encourage and advocate Colonial Federation.

In conclusion, I say, and have said, nothing against Colonial Federation, if it arise spontaneously, or be greatly desired by any Colony or set of Colonies. All I insist upon is, the expediency of leaving the question to be settled by the Colonies themselves. All I deprecate is the uncalled-for interference of the Imperial Government in what I conceive to be, not an Imperial, but in every sense of the word a Colonial, or local, question. It may be that the Imperial Government only acts in the matter as *amicus curiæ* before the great tribunal of opinion. But it may turn out that the Colonies will have reason to say, "Save us from our friends," and the Government may be called to account for taking so much trouble to create a morbid action which renders amputation necessary. In a word, why not let well alone?

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure we must have all listened with the greatest interest and attention to the able, lucid, and exhaustive paper just read. I confess I feel a sort of pride in hearing so able a State paper, which it cannot be otherwise designated, read by a gentleman who has occupied for so many years one of the most conspicuous places in public life in our Colonies. Of course there are divergences of opinion on this most important question of Federation; but for my own part I subscribe most heartily to the whole of the sentiments pronounced by my friend in the able paper just read. I am delighted at having the opportunity of listening to him, and I hope there will be many more who will join in the same feeling, and share the same opinion that I have expressed; and I have no doubt that we shall have a very interesting debate, which will not be concluded this evening, for the subject is one of so important a nature that it cannot be too well ventilated.

Mr. DENNISTOUN Wood observed that, having always taken great

interest in Federation, whether Imperial or Colonial, he thoroughly agreed in the opinion as to the obligation of the Royal Colonial Institute to the reader, whether they altogether agreed or in some respects disagreed with his sentiments, for the most satisfactory thing next to meeting a person with whose views one thoroughly concurred, was meeting an opponent who expressed his ideas in a clear and tangible manner so that they might be grappled with. He thought the paper clearly put forward the views in favour of, and also the objections which arise to, Federation. In some respects he agreed with the paper, in others differed from it. He was heartily in unison with the opinion that Colonial Federation was a question which ought to be left to the colonists themselves. (Hear, hear.) He thought that very often any injudicious attempt to interfere with Colonial affairs created a prejudice in the mind of the colonists against those things which were too vehemently forced upon them. South Africa had been referred to; he believed that Mr. Froude in that matter was not altogether judicious in his advocacy of Federation. Whether his interference would in the long run prove to have advanced the cause of Federation out there time would show. Nevertheless, there was no doubt that many influential colonists in the Cape conceived that Mr. Froude was unduly interfering in local affairs. He thought, however, that Lord Carnarvon was not open to the charge of wishing to force Confederation down the throats of the colonists. If his despatches to the West Indies were read it would be found that he carefully inculcated on Mr. Pope Hennessey the duty of not doing anything against the wish of the local legislature; and if anything which savoured of compulsion was after that done by Mr. Pope Hennessey, the blame rested upon his shoulders rather than those of Lord Carnarvon. It was true, as had been pointed out, that Federation of the Colonies was really a different thing from the Federation of independent States—such, for instance, as the Cantons of Switzerland, or the former Colonies of North America, which were now the United States. Although the word might not be strictly correct, it was a convenient one to use; and if the sense in which the terms “Colonial Federation” were once defined, no ambiguity could possibly arise. The paper dwelt upon the disadvantage of Federation. He would not say a word upon that side of the question. He desired to look at Federation from the other point of view. The paper suggested that there might be some difficulties about Federation in South Africa, because it was said two States in that country were Republican. It might seem a difficulty in the way, but it was not an insuperable

objection. A reference to ancient history would reveal the fact that Republican and Monarchical Governments had been united in a Federal League. In Germany they were united in one Confederation, for the Empire numbered amongst its members several Republics—namely, the free cities of Hamburg, Lubeck, and Bremen; so that the Transvaal and the Free State happening to be Republics was no insuperable objection to their entering into a Federation. The paper asked what possible good would be derived by them from such Federation; would it not be better that they should simply become British colonists, as the inhabitants of those States once were? He apprehended that, although Great Britain might in time of emergency send troops to South Africa, still it would always be necessary to maintain a considerable local force; and one chief object of a Federation would be to determine authoritatively what number of troops should be raised by each component member of the South African Confederation. Then the paper referred to Australia, and the objections there to Federation. Though some of them might not be without force, he thought the disadvantages were small when compared with the advantages which would be gained by a Federation of the Australian Colonies, with regard to the land laws and immigration. The Australian Colonies competed with each other in liberal land laws; persons were attracted from one Colony to another; each Colony, to retain its population, tried to outrival its neighbours in respect to land laws. Certainly Federation would check such a system of Dutch auction. It would also create some general rule as to immigration. [At present one colony spent a large amount of revenue in importing immigrants, but they, being free men, often wandered from the Colonies which brought them out. Some Colonies, he believed, attempted to tie them down by bonds or agreements, but it was in vain. It was impossible to make a good colonist of a man who wished to leave the Colony in which he was. Some Colonies had the satisfaction of seeing their immigrants at the first rumour of the discovery of a new gold-field leave the Colony which had paid their passage out. If there were a system of Federation, that would be put an end to. There were other matters pointing to the advantage of Federation, such as lighthouses. A lighthouse might stand on the shore of one Colony, but the advantages derived from it might not be so great to the Colony in whose territory it was situated as to neighbouring Colonies. By Confederation the expenses of the lighthouse would be borne rateably. True, the paper said these things could be arranged by treaties and conferences; but that seemed to him to

be against the paper, for the system of treaties and negotiations to which reference had been made was, after all, a system of Confederation, and it would, he thought, be better that questions which concerned several Colonies should be discussed openly in public, instead of by a few persons meeting in a room and talking over the matter privately. Then the paper referred to New Zealand, where there was until lately something like a system of Federation and united Provinces, but by a recent Act of the Legislature of New Zealand that Federation had been put an end to, for the Provinces had been swept away; but he saw nothing objectionable in a Federation which, as in the case of New Zealand, ultimately brought about perfect unity. Originally it would have been impossible to have had anything like a strongly centralised Government in New Zealand, because of the state of the country: there were different settlements, divided from each other by impassable rivers; there were no roads; Nelson was cut off from Canterbury, and the Provinces were to a great extent isolated. Now, however, that railways had been introduced into New Zealand, the isolation had come to an end, and instead of having semi-independent Provinces, the whole Colony was under one central Government. He considered Federation in some cases to be desirable chiefly as a means to an end—namely, unity. If Victoria and other Colonies in Australia should ultimately form one Colony, he for one should have no objection to it. It might be looked forward to in time. After all, there might be no more difficulty in having one Government for Australia than for Germany, but that was a question for the future. Meantime let there be Federation, and the people of the future generation would determine for themselves whether it was necessary that Federation should go a step further, and lead to perfect unity. He thanked Mr. Forster for opening a discussion which would prove of great interest in some degree to people in this country, but more especially to the people of the Colonies.

Mr. SAMUEL DAVENPORT (South Australia) said that the subject of Federation was one he had too little studied to be able to present any conclusions of his own, and it would be indecorous, therefore, on his part to advance any. Although he might not concur, after reflection, with the reader of the paper, still he must thank him for the clear and able way in which he had handled a question recently submitted to the consideration of the British public by this Institute, and from other sources. He rejoiced to see the question was being discussed, for very important interests, both Imperial and Colonial, attached to it. If Federation, partial

or general, was good, its successful accomplishment could scarcely be looked for until well-digested plans had laid foundations for it. Solidity came of time, and had a kind of natural growth. Rome was not built in a day; the oak did not grow in a day; and the British Constitution was the growth of years, the result of the exercise of human reason, well balanced, and employed with good feeling, built up as the needs of the day had indicated; and so, likewise, had sprung up the British Colonies as adjuncts to her Empire. It was better that the result should be based upon its merits as they arose from time to time. Federation in the abstract was an agreement between one country and another for certain purposes: an agreement to live together under certain laws, or for the making of certain laws in a given way, and before any parties could enter into a compact for Federation, it was essential that the concurrence of a majority of those parties should be well secured. One element entering into the question was that of climate. Climate created different demands, and raised competitive productions. Even were one system of emigration, under Federation, to all the Australian Colonies to be established, the demands for emigration would have to be so arranged that labourers of a certain class should be supplied to one portion of the country and labourers of a different class to another portion. Australia was 2,000 miles from north to south, and about 8,000 from east to west. Its several Colonies embraced climates which involved the cultivations of England, France, the Mediterranean, and in the north, those of tropical countries. In his opinion it would take time before the Colonists would establish a Federal legislative power, thoroughly devoted to the interests of the whole. Without due precaution some interests would be neglected. Otherwise it might prove the annexation of so many bodies together, each half living only in its extremities; and the result would be disintegration. He hoped these discussions came forward under the desire that the Empire of Great Britain should well embrace all her Colonies. Then he would say that that subject would lead them to considerations of great importance to the Colonies, as well as he believed to Great Britain herself. (Hear, hear.) It had been his lot recently to pass through the older Colonies of Great Britain, which 100 years ago severed themselves from her. Especially amongst those connected with the Pilgrim Fathers, he could speak of the love that yet existed in their hearts towards this country; and not simply that, but of their attachment to our old Anglo-Saxon race. They expressed themselves proud at being Anglo-Saxons, and proud at what British colonists were doing at this day. The Australian

colonists, as exhibitors at the Philadelphia Exhibition, had surprised Americans, who had previously little regarded the area or the productions of those Colonies. They expressed admiration that in so short a number of years those of the same blood and Anglo-Saxon race as themselves had settled that country to such an extent, and could exhibit such results as they saw before them. When he saw the Americans observe Australian progress, in that sense he must confess, as an Englishman at heart, he regretted that in Great Britain itself Australia could not be exhibited constantly, as she appeared before the Americans. (Hear, hear.) And it was with great pleasure he heard the other day that that Institute was favouring the erection of a museum for the exhibition of Colonial produce in this the heart of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) He felt sure it was to the ultimate interests of Great Britain to thoroughly recognise the Australian Colonies. He was surrounded by gentlemen well acquainted with those Colonies, and he believed they would concur with him in that view. (Hear, hear.) It was not simply for the benefit of the Colonies, but it was for that of Great Britain to spread her own race over that remote district of her Empire, and to secure that in the end it should have a political existence as capable of promoting the happiness of its subjects as was that of Great Britain. (Hear, hear.) When he attended, as he had the pleasure of doing, at the Royal Geographical Society last evening, and heard a lecture delivered by Dr. Mullens upon Madagascar, and saw hung on the walls of that room a map, as he saw on the walls of the room in which they were now assembled, he regretted that there was not in this country a series of lectures from time to time delivered upon the topographical geography of the Australian British Colonies. It would be highly interesting and instructive if the masses of people of this country could have placed before them, in distinct lines, the nature of the productions, the character of the climates, and of the soils of the Australian Colonies, so that they might know to what extent there existed in Australia those products and other conditions which contribute to the happiness of man, and that there the surplus population of this country might obtain happy homes, to the advancement of the Colonies, and to the blessing of the Empire itself. (Cheers.)

Mr. HYNDMAN took occasion, as the writer of the article in *Fraser's Magazine* on which Mr. Forster had commented, to say, with regard to Confederation, that it was not at all unfair to take into consideration the results of such Federations as they had already before them. He instanced the United States of America,

where the result of Federation was that there was free trade throughout that enormous area, and that was not the case throughout Australia. Going, for instance, from Sydney to Melbourne, a traveller's boxes were turned inside out, and he himself exposed to annoyance from Custom-house officials. Federation would doubtless remove this. In America such a thing was impossible. True, Federation, as practised there, was going through its trial at present; but it went through a still greater trial at the earlier stages of its career. Americans had to deal with what Australians had not—a numerous black race, extremely difficult to manage. In spite, however, of those difficulties, he did not think Mr. Forster would say that the United States would be stronger or more prosperous if they were broken up into different States. If they looked at the statistics of the Dominion of Canada they would find they had largely increased since Federation; and although it might be urged that British Columbia had not been treated properly, they must bear in mind there were two sides to that question. It would be a great advantage that the ill-feeling between one Colony and another—as for instance between Victoria and New South Wales—should cease to exist. Federation would be a great advantage in the Colonies from a commercial point of view, because large tracts of land would be brought together under the same conditions. Australia was split up, although there were no differences among the people. As Mr. Forster said, the Anglo-Saxon race was one family, and the difficulties of Federation seemed to vanish almost when the subject came to be discussed. With regard to the question of railways, Mr. Forster omitted one important point, which showed how even a practical people could do an impracticable thing. In India they began by building on a 5 feet 6 inch gauge, and the railways had been carried on at a loss. Australia began with a 4 feet 8½ inch gauge in much the same way, and built very expensively. Now, however, they were spending millions of money for building roads of a totally different gauge. Therefore they would encounter in a short time the difficulties of a break of gauge, which would be a serious drawback. This was not really a political question, but one to be dealt with in a political way. Anyhow, the difficulty would have to be met. With regard to the northern part of Australia, it was probably unfit for colonisation by the English race. That also was a subject that would have to be dealt with. It was not long since an agitation was set on foot for the annexation of New Guinea, and the Colonies all joined in pressing it upon the mother-country. If Australia had said she was willing to bear a portion of the expenses, the Imperial Government might have

been able to discuss it. But he did not see how they could have discussed it when the thing was in the clouds. It was a proposition that could better have emanated from Australia as a whole than from a number of Colonies. He did not mean to urge Federation in the sense of that of the German Empire, but still a Federation which would draw the Colonies nearer the mother-country. It would be well, however, if the varying interests of the Colonies were more harmonised, to begin with. He thought that free trade throughout Australia, an uniform gauge for railways, a common system of dealing with the enormous tracts of land—which belong not to the colonists alone, but are the heritage, also, of all the Anglo-Saxon race—would benefit the whole Continent of Australia. (Cheers.)

SIR JULIUS VOGEL said it seemed to him almost ungracious to take any exception to the paper read, for he heartily agreed in what had been said, that they were indebted to Mr. Forster for bringing forward so carefully prepared a paper. He had amassed a considerable amount of useful information, and had made some very interesting historical research. He (Sir Julius) confessed that he did not altogether agree with the views expressed in the paper. He did not think sufficient stress had been laid upon the difference existing between the question of the Federation of the whole Empire and the question of what was called the Federation of particular groups of Colonies. It seemed to him that Federation of the Empire was a question of great political moment, and its tendency would be to give a larger amount of local power to each member of the Federation—(hear, hear)—whilst, on the other hand, the Federation of groups of Colonies was a question of the hour, and might be effected under a great variety of conditions. It was impossible to apply to it those general rules which might be applied to the larger one of general Confederation. The paper seemed to him to imply that a number of people had laid down as a principle that the Federation of various groups of Colonies was desirable, and that there was some plan by which such Federation should proceed. He was not aware of any considerable number of persons holding such views, though doubtless in respect to many of the groups the desire for Federation more or less prevailed. He believed that it had been felt from time to time that it would be convenient to readjust the territorial boundaries of some Colonies, and in some cases to make such unions or arrangements for partial union as the local circumstances seemed to demand. If that view were correct, a great deal of what had been read assumed a hard-and-fast con-

dition which did not exist. He considered that the Federation of the North American Colonies was a measure which was looked upon as one of great political moment, because it was obviously felt that in relation to those Colonies a great many Imperial questions might arise which could be easier dealt with by a united Dominion than by a number of Colonies holding different opinions. It seemed to him far from being the case, as the paper suggested, that if Federation proceeded it must break up the Empire, but on the contrary, if the Empire was to continue, which he ardently hoped, there should be some form of union between the various groups of Colonies, otherwise, as they became large and important, the Imperial Government could not meet their separate requirements. It was impossible to suppose that when the Colonies assumed great importance they would not more or less enter into the questions which affect large nations; and if they were still to remain a portion of the Empire, and those questions were to be dealt with by Imperial authority, it was necessary that there should be some way of treating with the various groups in a united form, otherwise it would be impossible to give their opinions a fair amount of attention or deference. He might say that he was a strong supporter of the principle advocated much of late years—that of Imperial Federation. It seemed to him that it was really necessary to settle the question, and that there soon must be either Imperial federation or disintegration of the Empire. One or the other would have to come. (Hear, hear.) He went further, and thought that the separation of the United States from other English-speaking countries was a great misfortune. It had already cost large wars, and he thought, if we were to gain experience from what had passed hitherto, we might be sure that if the English-speaking Colonies were to become separated from the mother-country, they would in course of time cost the Imperial country a great deal more expense than the small and indirect charge which they imposed on Imperial funds under present circumstances. As to whether or not it was desirable to federate the Australian Colonies, he thought there were certain questions which could be settled to the benefit of all concerned if such Federation took place. He believed that the great difficulty in the way of a large system of emigration to the Australian Colonies was the one pointed out by a former speaker—the difficulty of bringing out emigrants by one Colony and finding them absorbed by another. There was no conceivable operation more profitable than that of taking population to a scantily-populated Colony. The immigrant could be landed in Australia and all expenses paid for less than £20 a head; and, in

the case of adults, each immigrant became immediately a source of profit to the Colony directly or indirectly far more annually than the cost of bringing him out. Yet it was notorious that emigration was carried on to those countries to a very small extent, and the difficulty of carrying it on to a large extent was the fear that one Colony might benefit at the expense of the other Colonies who spent the money. There was the cable question. They had the Australian Colonies separated from the civilised world by a great distance, and yet, notwithstanding that, there was so little means of communication between them and the rest of the world, there had been difficulty in finding common ground on which they could act. There was only one system of telegraphic communication, and that was liable to constant interruption, to say nothing of the time occupied in sending messages from England to the Colonies. He would say a word in defence of Sir Hercules Robinson, who, he considered, had made a most statesmanlike utterance, showing a large consideration of the question, and one which it could hardly be supposed would have been made without at any rate its being ascertained that the sentiments expressed were not sentiments with which his responsible advisers disagreed. He (Sir Julius) did not know what the labours were of the Select Committee or Royal Commission to which Mr. Forster referred; but it occurred to him that because many years were occupied in elucidating a large question, they were by no means entitled to look upon it as fallacious. His opinion of what had taken place at the Cape was not in accordance with the statement in the paper. It seemed to him that the Imperial Government had not assumed the aggressive attitude which the paper indicated. It occurred to him that the Colonial Office, with a prescience which could not be too much admired, saw the difficulties which threatened the South African possessions, and which anticipations had been fulfilled or nearly so, and therefore they took the measures which seemed most likely and most calculated to enable the Imperial Government, when the time arrived, to deal with the Colonies in a concrete form, seeing how many difficulties would arise if those possessions had to be dealt with separately. It had always appeared to him that in the case of South Africa the feeling of the great bulk of the country was not against Federation, but that the difficulty probably was more in the way of deciding how to deal with the question of the seat of Government and future metropolis. It was a difficulty which anyone who had lived in the Colonies must know would be likely to arise. With regard to the instance of New Zealand, he could not see that that was any proof one way or

another afforded by the recent change. He could not see that the change which had taken place in New Zealand had anything to do with discarding Federation. If it had any relevancy, it might be said to point rather to a united Government. One remark made in the paper was to the effect that the present divisions of the Colonies on the Australian continent were brought about by the almost unanimous wishes of those concerned. He, however, was under the impression that it was very much the contrary—that those divisions were made in almost every case against the wishes of the large majority of the country which was condemned to lose territory. They were not entitled to consider that those divisions existed in virtue of a feeling of the large majority, but to consider that they existed in virtue of what was on the whole regarded for the time to be fair divisions. He was not aware that it was supposed, when those divisions were made, that it would not be desirable to make some arrangements, not to re-unite them, but to bring them together in such a way that they might be able to work on great questions in common accord. He believed that they might argue upon very large grounds and great principles the question of the Federation of the whole Empire ; but the question of federating groups of Colonies depended upon the conditions which from time to time prevailed, and which make such local unions desirable. In the case of Barbados, Mr. Forster had not done justice to Mr. Pope Hennessey or the Government, for as far as he could gather he did not think Mr. Hennessey's action was open to the interpretation put on it ; nor did he think it was the case that British Columbia, whatever its grievance or fancied grievance, wished to leave the Dominion.

Mr. J. L. MONTEFIORE, Member of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, remarked that the arguments adduced in favour of Federation resolved themselves into this—that it was very desirable to have lighthouses between Colonies ; that Colonies were apt to bid against one another in a liberal land law ; and that it was advisable there should be a common gauge for railways. Now, as he went entirely with Mr. Forster, and perhaps a step further, in opposing, as far as he could, the Federation of the Australian Colonies, having spent many years of his life out there, he would give reasons why, politically, he held the opinion that to establish Federation there would be to sow the seeds that would yield fruitful results of bad legislation, discord, and strife. In talking of the Federation of the Australian Colonies they were apt to lose sight of the enormous extent that those Colonies govern. From Adelaide on one side, with its large population of some 80,000

inhabitants, to Cook Town on the north, with 12,000 inhabitants, there were 2,000 miles of seaboard, the land beyond which would grow every production of the known globe. There was nothing in the way of vegetable production on which they were accustomed to levy duties along that line of coast that would not be grown in abundance. Each speaker lauded the beauties of free trade. They in New South Wales were pledged to it; but he should like to know what free trade there could be if all those products grown from north to south were to pass from one Colony to another. If there were to be no means of raising a revenue upon raw products, they would be driven to raise their revenues by duties upon manufactured articles; they would commence with protection and be compelled to finish with it, for there would be no possibility of raising a revenue except they went in for protection. Therefore they would begin Federation by saying they would blot out free trade, which would be doing away with the advantages which they had gathered for themselves, as they would in spite of themselves be driven into protective duties. These would be the inevitable consequences of Federation if all goods passed free, and if they had intercolonial free trade, it would necessarily mean extra Colonial protection. Another reason was that between the north and south of Australia, where there was a variety of climate, they necessarily have every variety of occupation, and they would have a mixed population. To the south, round Adelaide and in Victoria, and the southern part of New South Wales, the English labourer would be glad to earn a livelihood, but in northern Queensland it would be impossible for him to cultivate. Whether they liked it or not, they were obliged to till the soil with a sort of servile labour. They were going to commence a Federation by introducing into Australia that very element of discord which was now the cause of disunion and strife in America. There was a last reason which weighed in the general account, viz. where they had an extent of country where necessarily one part of it would be a manufacturing country, one part would be agricultural where the other part would be pastoral. In striving to reunite under one common legislation those different interests, would it not be certain that they would be introducing into that Federal union the seeds of disunion? Was it not likely that they might see some day injustice perpetrated, as was done last year in the United States, where, the South being a sugar-growing country, a treaty was made with the Sandwich Islands, by which the sugar of the latter was admitted free in order that the manufacturers of the North might go free to the Sandwich Islands, and so taxing the South to a certain extent for the benefit

of the North? All these arguments should weigh in the consideration of the consequences of Federation in Australia.

Mr. WESTGARTH had listened with interest to the paper, the remarks of which were important, not only because of their ability, but because the reader had held a high position in the Colonies as a public man, and, above all, because he was recently from the Colonies. He recollected when the subject was first taken up by the Institute some time ago, it was put forward by many under a mistaken view. He spoke of Imperial Federation. It was advanced as a feature in the case that it was a favour granted to the Colonies, and that their demands for representation in an Imperial Federation were likely to be so considerable that it was impossible to grant them. Now, he and others acquainted with the views of colonists knew that that was altogether an erroneous view of the case, and the great difficulty was to induce the colonists to view with any favour at all the taking them into an Imperial Federation. They had acquired their own views, and looked to their own local interests, and, although loyal in sentiment, they had no desire to enter such a Federation; and they not only felt that in this case, but they had no desire for a Federation amongst themselves. It was useless to attempt to carry on this Federation unless it was responded to by colonists; and he agreed with that, although in other respects he disagreed with the paper and several of the speakers with regard to the merits of the question. With regard to Colonial Federation, in the question alluded to by Sir J. Vogel, Colonies got disintegrated unwillingly; in the case of Port Phillip and New South Wales, the former was anxious to separate, but the latter was not. This localising of Government in early Colonial life was a special case. There was nothing like self-government to a young settlement. He belonged to Port Phillip, and they were most desirous of wrenching themselves from the parent Colony, whose Government was a long way off, and had its own interests to serve, and used to absorb our money and not pay much attention to Port Phillip. It was almost incredible what an impetus was given by having a local authority. That was the reason why New Zealand commenced in that small way from which they were now happily and timely getting extricated. Sir J. Vogel put it that that argument had a contradictory appearance; and certainly large Colonies had been rent asunder against the will of the majority; but he would say that unfortunately no sooner were they rent asunder than they fell into their own coteries and self-government, and then it became almost impossible, when the right time came, to bring them together again. That was the

difficulty Colonies thus divided were now in. He knew that Mr. Forster himself would not deny that a great Colony, if it were united and had been so from the beginning, was better than a small Colony. They had much more liberal views and expansion of mind. Those who had been in America were accustomed to hear the pride with which they spoke of the "Empire State of New York." But if it had originally consisted of a dozen Rhode Islands, it would have been utterly impossible, after they had got into their system of government, to have united those small states into one "Empire State." It would be seen that it would have been much better if the dozen small had been made one great. He believed, as Mr. Wood said, Federation was an ambiguous term. The want was unity. That was what the separate Colonies now needed. The disjointed units into which they had been broken made it difficult to bring them together again now, so as to have all the economies and consistencies of a large community. Then with regard to the disadvantage of separated Colonies as they were at present. One speaker alluded to the fact that as the Australian Colonies neared each other by rail it was found that they had not the same gauge. These railways being Government works, it was certain that that could not have happened if there had been one Government over them all. Then with regard to the postal question. The Colonies differed from one another on the different parts of that question, so much so, that it was found impossible for them to act altogether. His own Colony, Victoria, acted rather high-handedly in this matter some years ago with her senior sister, New South Wales. There were now, in fact, from these differences three different and rival lines; and there had ever since been a coolness between them. With regard to the border duties—the Customs question. There had become such an intensity of feeling between Victoria and New South Wales that it was expected on one occasion there would be bloodshed, and some went as far as saying that if there must be bloodshed, let it be. He disagreed with Mr. Forster on that point, and also with many remarks he made with regard to Federation. The word Federation was an unfortunate stumbling-block. The aim was unity, and thus most of Mr. Forster's objections were beside the point. With regard to Imperial Federation, he thought that most colonists who came home, and considered the question from the home standpoint, became favourable. Nor did Mr. Forster seem opposed to this Federation, although he was to the intercolonial. It was seen that with the Colonies, because they were still mostly small, there were no practical difficulties as yet, or very few. But the question was asked, when they go on

with their own legislation, and become larger and larger every year, if they found reasons for having legislation different from this country, there must be difficulty in checking them. There were cases even now where the Home Government, for the sake of peace, agreed to what perhaps they would rather not have sanctioned; and in that way differences were introduced over the Empire, which, when those Colonies came to be large and powerful, would be found not to hold it well together. The great defect was the want of a Parliament really Imperial as representing also the Colonies. Take the great Canadian Fisheries question, settled some years ago: the matter was thoroughly gone over by the nominally Imperial Parliament, and after it was all settled there the part relating to Canada had to be relegated to the Canadian Parliament to be approved; and as the Canadian Parliament was hard to be convinced, it really had to be bribed to confirm. The question with regard to Imperial Federation was, how was it to be done? and how were those Colonies to be induced to come in and have themselves represented, so as to make an Imperial Legislature in reality? Some speakers who had taken a part in the discussion said it must be by Federation in an Imperial Parliament which should supersede the present so-called Imperial Parliament. His objection to that was that we never did things by revolution, which this plan was; and that it was wasting time in trying to bring about things in such ways. (Hear, hear).

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG: We generally like in our meetings to finish our discussions in one evening; but there are fewer subjects of greater importance than the one which has been before us this evening, and from the list before us of gentlemen wishing to speak on the subject it would be quite impossible for us to get through the discussion to-night, and we therefore propose to adjourn it to next Thursday week, the 1st proximo.

FOURTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Fourth Ordinary General Meeting took place at the "Pall Mall" on Thursday, February 1st, 1877, J. A. YouL, Esq., C.M.G., in the chair.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG, Hon. Sec.: Will you permit me, before reading the minutes of the last meeting, to allude for one moment to a melancholy event which has taken place since we last met in this room. Mr. Dutton, Agent-General for South Australia, and a member of our Council, I am sorry to say—as all who are present will be to hear—died last week. Everyone will bear me out in saying that he performed the important duties connected with the post to which he was accredited by his Government to this country with considerable energy and zeal; and I have no doubt he did his duty with perfect satisfaction to that Government. I am sure I speak the feelings of myself, as well as of every member both of the Council and the Institute, in saying how sincerely we regret his untimely death, and how heartily we sympathise with his family at the loss they have sustained.

Mr. Young then read the minutes of the last meeting, which were duly confirmed.

The CHAIRMAN then called on Mr. Young to resume the discussion, adjourned from January 23rd, on

THE FALLACIES OF FEDERATION.

Mr. FREDK. YOUNG said that when the subject of Mr. Forster's paper was announced, it was a matter of curiosity to know how he intended to deal with the title, which he called "Fallacies of Federation." It was a matter of some satisfaction to those who had taken a prominent and somewhat pronounced part with reference to it, to perceive that he only dealt with one, although no doubt a very important, part of this great question. It appeared to him that the paper should have been called the Fallacies of Colonial, rather than merely the Fallacies of Federation. Now it was important that they should keep distinctly in view the difference between Imperial and Colonial Federation. (Hear hear.) He would admit that Mr. Forster's paper had been

written with very great ability and considerable power. He agreed, to a great extent, with him, but he nevertheless differed with the conclusions at which Mr. Forster had arrived. They had been told, among other things, of many instances of Federation both ancient and modern. The Achæan League, the United States of America, and the Swiss Cantons, were alluded to; but it was matter for surprise that among others Mr. Forster did not refer to one somewhat nearer home, our old Saxon Heptarchy, which was really the germ of the Federation which we at this moment enjoy in this country. Mr. Forster also seemed to have treated the question, from the examples he gave, as if it was one of a union of sovereign states, and that therefore the British Colonies could not be included in it. Now he would ask, in the case of the United States of America or the Swiss Cantons, or more especially of the most recent and most successful instance, viz. Canada—he quite agreed with what Mr. Hyndman said about the Dominion of Canada—whether they were not most successful examples of Federation? Then, with regard to New Zealand, he could not concur in thinking that the system of provincial governments was exactly an example of Federation. On the contrary, he should rather have cited the change which had been made within the last few months as an instance of Federation. But, from whatever point of view the question was looked at, it would seem an extraordinary thing in the present day for contiguous counties (for instance) in this country with simply the artificial boundary of a river between them—or, to put it more forcibly still, in the case of our own great city between Westminster and Southwark, each containing inhabitants far greater in number than any of the Colonies—that there should be differences of fiscal policies or even local laws when there was only a bridge separating the two. It would seem almost like a modern anachronism, if such a thing could be. Yet that was the case on either side of the river Murray, although it was not the case on either side of the river Thames. The real secret of the matter was, that local rivalries and jealousies prevented a more rational system being adopted than would otherwise be pursued between the various contiguous groups of Colonies. In referring to the question of Federation, Mr. Forster said, if it were to occur, it ought to be the spontaneous suggestion of the colonists themselves. In that he (Mr. Young) heartily agreed; but he could not see why on that account the Imperial Government as a sort of *amicus curiæ*, without attempting to dictate to the Colonies, should not throw out occasional suggestions in a friendly way and spirit—which might be accepted by them—in order to point out

to them what was the better way to go about it. Mr. Forster concluded his paper by saying, "Why not let well alone?" The answer to that, he thought, was contained in the masterly speech made by Sir Hercules Robinson at Albury—which he thought Mr. Forster hardly did justice to—when he pointed out the enormous increase in the population and wealth of the Australian Colonies which would occur within the next forty or fifty years, as a reason, and a cogent one, why it was impossible to let things alone or to remain as they were. The fact was, some considerable changes in the future would have to be made in the political organisation of the whole British Empire. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Montefiore, in a very able speech made at the last meeting in that room, in strong support of Mr. Forster's views, dwelt at length on the question of the difficulty which would arise in case of Colonial Federation, in the levying of Customs' dues, and in the raising of revenue; but he would remind them that Customs' duties were not the only, or, in the opinion of some financiers, the best, means of raising revenue. We in this country were familiar with many other modes of raising revenue. We have income-tax, house-tax, and above all, land-tax; and the question of land-tax, by the last advices received from Australia, appeared to be exciting considerable attention there. It seemed to him that, in the proper adjudication of a tax of that description, probably laid the solution of the best mode of raising the revenue for the whole country. Mr. Westgarth, who seemed to dwell more particularly on one great branch of the subject—namely, that of Imperial Federation—referred to some opinions which he (Mr. Young) had rather perhaps too boldly put forward with regard to that important question—"No, no"—and he somewhat curtly, as he thought, dismissed his (Mr. Young's) views upon the subject by saying they were "revolutionary," and therefore "impossible." He (Mr. Young) had long been of opinion that the prophetic "impossibility" argument was a very dangerous one to make use of. It was not so many years ago that prophets of that kind pronounced that it would be impossible to plough the Atlantic without the aid of wind and sail. Now, however, vessels were seen going over every sea in the world by the wonderful agency of steam; and, still more recently, the same class of prophets he had no doubt have said it was utterly Utopian and a perfect impossibility that they should be able to converse with their friends at the Antipodes: and yet, through the marvellous and mysterious help of telegraphy, that was done at the present day. Had not these things—steam and telegraphy—worked a veritable revolution in the affairs of the

world, and such a revolution, he contended, as any suggestion with regard to the changes proposed by himself and others in the political organisation of the Empire were as nothing? He believed, therefore, they must not regard the views of those rather timid politicians who endeavoured to taunt them with talking—when anything really novel in their eyes was suggested—what was called revolution. He was one of those who believed, if a thing was right to be done, that it would be done, in spite of all those timid politicians might say. He could only express his great regret that a subject of that kind, which was so vast, so interesting, and so important, should have to be treated on that occasion in the limited time at their disposal, because they could only touch the mere fringe of the discussion on such a question. He would conclude the few remarks he had thrown together by saying that he quite agreed with Mr. Forster that Colonial Federation must be the spontaneous growth of the Colonies themselves. But whether it was accomplished or not,—either with or without it,—he did hope most fervently that the time would arrive when a Federation would be accomplished, to which he considered this to be only the prelude, namely, Imperial Federation by an Imperial Parliament, based on the most comprehensive principles possible, which he believed in his conscience was the only true and real way of ultimately maintaining what he was sure would be the greatest blessing to the whole British nation, namely, a permanent unity of the Empire. (Cheers.)

Mr. ABRAHAM said that, as he seconded the adjournment of the discussion on the last occasion, he believed it was expected that he should follow Mr. Young, with whom he agreed that Imperial Federalism and Colonial Federation were two very distinct things. Mr. Forster had confined himself in his paper, and very rightly so, to Colonial Federation; at the same time it must be admitted that, although they were distinct, yet, so far as Australia and New Zealand were concerned, the question of Imperial Federation was exceedingly important upon Constitutional grounds, because Australia and New Zealand had Constitutions given to them by charters or parliamentary compact, which secured to them responsible government according to Constitutional usages directly under the Crown, and subject only to the British Executive in Imperial matters. Not only so, but further: the conditions under which those Colonies had been founded—the very object, the be-all and end-all of their existence—was, as Mr. Gladstone said when the Constitution of New Zealand, in 1852, was under discussion in the House of Commons, that they should propagate British institutions, manners,

language, and race in the remote quarters of the world. Now the effect of proposing Federal Government *quâ* the Colonies alone, was to interpose between the Colonial Governments of New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, New Zealand, and Queensland, an institution, viz. a Federal Congress, unknown to the British Constitution—an institution which, upon all Imperial questions, would intercept the communications between them and the Crown and British Executive. Such a proposal was, in his opinion, a direct violation of their charters, and this was one of the strong objections which Australia would have if ever that question was mooted. Although, therefore, they might discuss the one question by itself, as Mr. Forster had done, yet, in point of fact, they thereby dropped one of the most important arguments that would be used by Australia and New Zealand. The difficulty which colonists felt in regard to the proposals for local consolidation was what it would be the prelude to. Was it to be the prelude to Imperial Federation or to Colonial Independence? Mr. Young said it was to be the prelude to Imperial Federation; but that seemed to be putting the cart before the horse: the two ought at least to be concurrent, and at the same time that they tried the temper of the colonists as to whether they would submit to any such newfangled system, they ought to moot the question here in England, and see whether England, Scotland, and Ireland would go into a Federation of that kind, under which, so far as Imperial affairs were concerned, they were to abandon their Cabinet Ministers and all their old-fashioned institutions, even the exclusive functions of a Prime Minister, and place all the affairs of the Empire in the hands of a Congress. If they did not persuade them to that, then they would introduce into the Colonies by Colonial Federation an institution which was unknown to the British Constitution. However, he was quite content at that moment to deal, as they were all bound to deal, with the paper as placed before them by the able lecturer. He confessed he did not think that Mr. Young—who was rather a master of the subject, and who had been kind enough to give them his views and the views of others in a shape which was accessible to all—quite represented accurately the views of Mr. Forster in reference to the topic of sovereign power. As he, Mr. Abraham, understood Mr. Forster's argument, it was this. He put himself in the position of addressing those present as a body of colonists in order to show to them what gain or profit it would be to them as colonists to consolidate in the manner proposed, and he asked if they expected they would gain any sovereign power by such unity. The separate Colonies had not got sovereign powers, nor would their union give them any

sovereign power. Two blacks did not make a white, nor two negatives an affirmative. Therefore, as far as sovereign powers went, if they all united together without any Imperial Federation, there would be no gain of sovereign power at all. That he understood to be the purport of Mr. Forster's argument.


Mr. YOUNG : Quite right.

Mr. ABRAHAM continued : In this way, Mr. Forster addressed himself to colonists, and confined his remarks to Colonial consolidation. He thought they were greatly indebted to Mr. Forster for that paper, and he trusted, if ever there should be a Convention called in the Australian Colonies to consider this question, that Mr. Forster's paper, and also Mr. Young's book, and the discussion on the present occasion, would be put about as a handbook, in order that the electors throughout those Colonies might have the matter fully before them to form a correct judgment on the subject. He confessed that when he read the title of Mr. Forster's paper it reminded him of a book—the alliteration especially—published some years ago by a well-known gentleman, Dr. Dickson, and called “The Fallacies of the Faculty.” That book was the cause of an entire revolution in medical practice. The work was directed to those of the medical profession in those days who trusted entirely to anatomy for a knowledge of their art. They sent their students into the dissecting-rooms to study dead bodies when disease had done its worst ; and they judged of the condition of the human body simply from anatomy, or at most from the examination of the body when in a state of disease. They never troubled themselves about living organisms, the vitality of the living man in health as well as in disease. They did not know that little complaints and ailments would be of constant recurrence in the human frame, and that it was the business of medical science to treat the body so as to prevent that recurrence. Dr. Dickson also accused his brethren of nursing the bodies of their patients like Chancery suits, and of making them believe they were in a state of bad health and that some specific was absolutely necessary. He thought that his friends Doctor Young and Doctor Labillière were labouring under a like error, and indulged in the same fallacies as the doctors of olden times. In the first place, they did not discuss or consider the vital organisms, the soul and body, so to speak, of the Colonies at all. They did not consider, but rather disregarded, and sought to set aside, the political systems already established in the Colonies, and, if we looked to the origin of the movement, it was because of some occurrences that took place long ago in New Zealand—something about the removal of troops and other little ailments, which

made them imagine there was a necessity for this specific Federation. He could not say that he thought there was even then any necessity at all for that. If the matter were examined, they would be found to have shifted their ground very much since the matter was first mooted after the meetings held in Cannon-street Hotel. Because the Imperial Government were going to remove the troops, everybody was assured that that Colony would go out of the Empire. Nevertheless, the step was taken and with what result? Immediately the New Zealand war was put an end to, peace was restored, and that Colony had become more prosperous—more perhaps than any other country—and was more united to the mother-country at the present time than any other Colony. That was their first complaint, and that was the result of the action of the British Government. Then what was the next complaint that suggested this Federation as the best and sole remedy for the disease which they kept on insisting still existed? It seemed that certain philosophers, of whom Mr. Goldwin Smith was the head, depreciated the value of the Colonies, and then certain others connected with the then Ministers and with the Manchester School did speak of the Colonies as being of little value, and that they might be allowed to do as they pleased. In the course of these discussions, the Government said, “Oh, we are never going to coerce you to remain, you may depend upon that!” and in consequence of that, this theory of Federation was insisted on as absolutely indispensable. He asked all present whether there was anybody in this country or the Australian Colonies who now endorsed the views of Mr. Goldwin Smith, who had repented of them—at least, it was to be hoped so—long ago out in the cold in Canada. It was matter for congratulation that he had sufficient affection for the old country to return to her, as he believed Mr. Smith had recently done. It might be said that a certain article that appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* the other day also showed a present disposition in some of the Colonies to go out of the Imperial system—to bulge out, as it were, and so to require a Federal tie. That article was signed “Victorian,” but the extraordinary thing was, that that article was written in order to show the great prosperity of the Colonies at the present time; to show how it was possible for them on account of their great prosperity—it did not depreciate them, but just the contrary—that they were able if they pleased, and if the necessity should arise, to go out of the system with perfect safety to themselves. That article would seem to have been occasioned by some remarks of the *Times* newspaper made on the admirable address or lecture of the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, in December 1875, in which the writer rather curtly said

something equivalent to — “ Oh, you had better go out,” and in consequence of that, that paper was written. There certainly were in the paper some remarks about the Colonies consulting their own dignity, or something of that kind, and that if they did so they might not remain. Well, he thought those remarks were unfortunate ; but considering the direction in which they were pointed, he thought they were not quite uncalled for, and did not derogate much from the exceedingly able paper which appeared in *Fraser's Magazine*. However, he thought they might consider that little mistake of the writer—if one might call it so—had been fully condoned, because it was that particular mistake in that article which called forth that able and powerful paper which Mr. Dennistoun Wood had read upon the subject.

Mr. STRANGWAYS was afraid he should be, as he often had been, in a glorious minority in supporting the views expressed in Mr. Forster's paper. He noticed that those who had spoken on the subject had been pretty well up in the clouds in going into the question of Federation, and had been going to a great extent into every question but the one in discussion. The question brought forward by Mr. Forster was one of Colonial Federation ; but they had the Philadelphia Exhibition and Imperial Federation largely dilated upon, and a great many other subjects all mixed up. Before going into the details of Mr. Forster's paper, he expressed his intense admiration at the exquisite manner in which the whole of the statements of fact made by Mr. Forster, and the arguments he had adduced, had been completely demolished and refuted by an article which appeared two or three days after in a Colonial newspaper, which, right or wrong, he would endeavour to show. He proposed to confine himself as much as he could to the question before them, which was Colonial Federation, and not Imperial Federation. They had heard so much of Imperial Federation for such a long time, that he really began to think a great many persons were ready to say that they had had quite enough of the subject for the present. The question brought forward by Mr. Forster of Colonial Federation, was altogether and essentially different from Imperial Federation, because, as Mr. Forster showed, Colonial Federation might exist or not without in any way affecting the question of the connection with the mother-country. The five points put forward by Mr. Forster, and which had been largely discussed by other speakers, as the questions which it was said might be affected by Colonial Federation, were railways, lands, immigration, coast lights, and defence. With regard to railways. The great argument used in favour of Federation on the railway question was,



that there would be uniformity of gauge. That, however, was a very secondary matter. It must be remembered in the first place, in dealing with Australia they were not dealing with the City of London, nor a small county, but with a country two of the chief capitals of which—Adelaide and Sydney—would be, by the nearest route that one could take a railway, about a thousand miles apart. That was a long line of railway. There was no such line to be found in this country. He entertained doubt whether the question of uniformity of gauge was worth considering when the question of cost was taken into account. He had had to do with the passing of Government accounts for railways in Australia both for narrow and broad gauges, and he knew that whilst engineers showed by figures beyond the shadow of a doubt—and you cannot doubt them on their own figures—that the broad could be constructed for the same money as the narrow gauge, yet he knew when the bills had to be paid it was found that the bills bore a proportion very much like the square of the different gauges. The railways in New South Wales cost £16,000 per mile. The recently-constructed South Australian railways cost £5,000 per mile. Which, then, was the better, the one or the other? Which was best, to have 100 miles of railway at £16,000 a mile, or 800 miles of railway at £5,000 per mile? Practical men would have no difficulty in answering the question. Then another difficulty to contend with in a new country was the natural tendency of people to congregate in large towns, such, for example, as Adelaide, Melbourne, and Sydney, where, according to the census papers, about one-third of the population of each of those countries were to be found within a radius of ten miles of the General Post-office in each of those cities. Everything was being done to entice the people into the interiors, and the way to do that was by constructing, not a few expensive lines which the larger mass of the people in the thickly-populated localities would have constructed, but to get the light, if narrower, lines constructed, so as to admit of the ready passage of the people into the interior of the continent. With respect to the uniformity of the land system, Mr. Dennistoun Wood had brought up the “squatting” question, and the injuries done to the Colonies by the rivalries to obtain land, which had reduced its price. He (Mr. Strangways) declared there was no harm done to the Colonies by that. It had had the effect of preventing the “squatting” aristocracy of each country from monopolising the land, and enabled the holders to put it to good practical use; and the land-laws of the three Colonies bore a strong resemblance to each other. With regard to Mr. Young’s theory of a tax upon land, he could only say that if he seriously

entertained that theory, let him go out and try it. He (Mr. Strangways) had tried it with very unsatisfactory results. There were a great many people in South Australia who entertained Mr. Young's theory; they said, "Let us have a land-tax; put a tax upon the land, and make the large holders pay." Well, the Ministry at whose head he (Mr. Strangways) was at the time, proposed a small tax upon land, thinking it would gratify them by doing so; but every landowner in the country was up in arms against it.

Mr. YOUNG: It is the ignorant impatience of taxation.

Mr. STRANGWAYS: Yes, and of everything else; but he cautioned Mr. Young, or anyone, against carrying out a beautiful theory whilst ignorance of that kind prevailed in the minds of all those persons who descended from the realms of fancy into the more sober regions of actual fact. With regard to immigration, he thought it was Mr. Montefiore who said that the result of Federation amongst the Colonies might have the effect of preventing any immigration at all. That was not at all unlikely. But there was this to be said, that although one Colony might pay the expenses, or more than its share of the expenses, of bringing the immigrants to the Colonies, the whole of the Colonies out there benefited by it. He supposed that no Colony spent more than South Australia; but at one time when the immigrants were brought into Port Adelaide, they were observed to take ship and be off to Melbourne direct, and there was a great outcry about that and the consequent great waste of money. He admitted that South Australia did not gain as much by those immigrants as she might have done; but he nevertheless could prove that it paid South Australia well to bring those immigrants out and let them migrate to Victoria, because it was a fact that South Australia was supplying Victoria with many articles of use and consumption, and it paid South Australia to get those extra thousands of customers a few miles off across the borders. The next question was that of Customs. They needed not Federation for that. The whole of it could be done by a treaty on the Zollverein principle, and it was only three years ago that the Parliament of this country passed an Act enabling the Colonies, if they thought fit, to enter into such a treaty; but they did not think fit to do so. There was Sydney, New South Wales, with rank free trade, and Victoria with rank protection; while in South Australia there was a curious jumble of the two. The result was that it would be utterly impossible to bring those three Colonies, on the question of Customs, into union. It had been tried, and innumerable conferences had been held on the subject, with a result just

about as much as the late Conference on the Eastern Question at Constantinople—that was, none at all. The three Colonies agreed once to an uniform tariff, and it was submitted to the Legislatures simultaneously. What did they do? Why, two submitted theirs, and one backed out of it. He mentioned those things to show that when they had to deal with actual facts they must descend from the realms of fancy. The next question was that of defence. It was quite possible that some good might result from defence being dealt with in a friendly manner. But how were they going to do it? South Australia was not to decide upon the plan of defence for Sydney, and *vice versa*, and so with other Colonies. What would the result be? Why, that each Colony would have to pay for its own defences, as it did at the present time. To illustrate the way Federation worked, he would refer to a remark made by Mr. Dennistoun Wood, who illustrated the advantages of Federation by pointing out that lighthouses might properly be paid for out of the Federal fund and supported on the Federal system. That was a remarkably beautiful idea, looked at from an abstract point of view. In the first place they would have to separate the highway ocean lights from the harbour lights, and each Colony would fight over that to commence with. When that was done, the next thing would be to decide upon the proportion of revenue each Colony should contribute to ocean lights. The result would be that it would be nearly as much within perhaps £100 per annum as it was now. If anyone would take the chart and see the lighthouses all round the coast—commence at Kangaroo Island and go round to Brisbane—they would find, if they divided the cost of the ocean lights and the cost of maintaining them on the Federal system, that the Colonies would contribute just about as much as they did at present, with the exception that Victoria might have to pay a few hundreds more. His opinion on the question, therefore, was, that if they took out all those questions which were put forward as questions which might be beneficially dealt with by Federation, and then struck out from them the questions which could be dealt with equally without Federation, they had nothing whatever left on which they could possibly desire to federate. Another view in which that question of Federation might be looked at was as to the results to flow from it. He believed that establishing these Federal Colonies might only be to prepare the way for separation from the mother-country. (Hear, hear.) He had been informed, but was not prepared to state the source of his information, that when the diggings in Victoria first broke out, and it became necessary to establish a better form of government for that country, that when the first Constitutional Act

was prepared, there were clauses inserted in that Act authorising the Australian Colonies to federate, if they thought fit. That matter was the subject of very serious consideration in the Cabinet Council in London, and an important Minute was drawn up thereupon, which now existed in Downing-street; and those clauses were struck out because it was the opinion of the Ministers of the day—who knew about as much of the colonists as the present Ministers do—(“No, no;” “Yes, yes”)—he repeated the assertion, he did not say that either of them knew anything about the colonists, but he felt he was justified in saying that each knew the same amount—those clauses were struck out of the Act because the Government of the day were of opinion that the Colonies would federate voluntarily, and that would be the first stage towards separation from the mother-country. Now the question of the economical good that would result from Federation he could not see. Whether Federation was to be brought about or not, he was certain it would never be by any action that was taken in England. Federation was very much like matrimony: there was no trial allowed—it was for better or worse. If there should turn out to be a serious incompatibility of temper—and it was not unlikely that would arise—there was no means whatever of maintaining separation. They could not go to a Philadelphia lawyer and get a separation for £7 10s., as it was said could be done in America. If they desired to break up the Federation afterwards, they would only bring about in large groups of Colonies that which had been a few years ago seen in the United States of America, and he was sure no one would like to bring that about. He concluded by thanking Mr. Forster for the paper he had brought forward, and he hoped Mr. Forster would not be deterred from stating his views on the question of Colonial Federation—a question upon which he had opportunities of obtaining a large amount of knowledge—simply because they did not happen to tally with the views of persons in this country who speak and write upon the subject—he did not say it offensively, but as an actual fact—without knowledge or experience. (Applause.)

Mr. GRAZEBROOKE proposed to deal with the question of Federation upon the broad and Imperial view of it. As regarded Colonial Federation, he thought that that was a step towards the grand Imperial Federation which had been during the last twenty years the dream of his life. He remembered reading the Hon. Mr. Howe's pamphlet upon the subject; he had previously formed his own ideas upon it; but having read that pamphlet he became convinced that it was one of the grandest and most magnificent ideas, and one that some day would be realised if Englishmen were only true to them-

selves. Hence he deplored the action of certain statesmen, who, only a little time past, had ventured to assert the principle that our Colonies were only an encumbrance—Colonies where the bravest and best of our men—men with the biggest brains and largest hearts—had ventured to go, to dare the unknown in many instances, and had laid open to our enterprise new fields for our children when our little island became overgrown. He deplored the policy of certain Ministers of England, who had spoken as though the Colonies were to be got rid of, and as though they were to be valued only by the balance of the profit and loss account. Hence, having such feelings, he had heard the very able speech of Mr. Forster with considerable emotions of unpleasantness. He felt throughout the whole course of that speech from a gentleman whom he had never had the honour to see before, he felt he detected throughout that speech the same narrow policy which guided those Ministers in venturing to make those propositions with regard to the Colonies. It was all put down to “expediency”—the expediency of the moment. “What have you gained from Federation which you cannot gain without Federation? The Imperial Government will defend you the same. What, then, are the benefits to be derived therefrom?” Those were the narrow views which only sought for temporary benefits, and did not look forward with a far-sighted view to the day and to the eventualities which might arise when any of those separate Colonies might be called upon to become great and independent states, or else to take their share in our grand Imperial Parliament. And when the cares of that vast empire became too great to be borne, and the Colonies had obtained their full majority of years, he felt sure they would not fall back or falter if asked to take some little share of the burdens of the old country; and if they were asked to share by sending delegates to the Imperial Parliament—by sending men of the highest merits, perhaps to the House of Lords—and, sitting together as a grand Imperial Parliament, decide upon the vast and important issues of commerce, and of peace and war, so that the whole material power of hundreds of millions of men may be welded into one for the great advantage of the whole human race. There had been statements that night of petty jealousies and petty advantages of this portion or of that of a Colony, stating this or that or the other would press too heavily, or that Province would get a benefit. Why, such things were unworthy of Englishmen! Many of our Acts of Parliament were advantageous to Lancashire but not to Yorkshire, yet the latter readily submitted. If it became the law it was done without heartburning. If they had separate divisions of Colonies and Provinces, if their interests were separated, it was

that which brought about wars. Separation caused bitterness and differences, then terms of reproach, such as between Canada and America, until it might cause them to hate each other, and to rise in arms against each other. He felt convinced that his idea of a grand Imperial Confederation would some day take place. If, however, it were not realised, then these Colonies, having sunk all differences between them, having learnt to yield one to another, might rise to the dignity of being a nation. If the day came when they did form a nation, then they would feel the advantage of that union which at this moment it might be difficult to show, but they would reap these advantages in the future, because union was strength. Armies and dangers might rise against them at any time—they little knew what changes might be effected in European nations ; and, at all events, they would have served their apprenticeship to an independence hereafter if they did so at the present, and they would have earned the right to join those at home in carrying out the grand destinies which he trusted and hoped belonged to the British race. (Cheers.)

Mr. LABILLIERE observed that they must ask themselves, what did all those questions of Federation which had sprung up in every quarter of the Empire mean ? Did they not mean a more complete and perfect organisation of the systems of Government to meet the growing wants of Colonies which had sprung into existence within a very few years ? When they considered the bearing of a Federation policy upon groups of Colonies or upon individual Colonies, they must, if they had the smallest amount of foresight, ask the further question, What next ? Having decided to federate Colonies or to leave them unfederated, what must in the future be their relations with one another ? What, for example, must be the relations of Canada, South Africa, and Australia with each other and with the mother-country ? That at once raised the question of Imperial Federation. Mr. Strangways had remarked that too much had already been said about Imperial Federation ; but the question ought to be discussed in a broad, liberal, and comprehensive manner, and be looked at far beyond its mere local consequences as a grand whole, and then they would arrive at Imperial Federation. Would a man be called an architect who set to work upon the construction of a grand edifice by throwing a tower here and a quadrangle there, a wall in another place and a gateway elsewhere, without forming any conception in his mind as to the symmetry or nature of the structure when complete ? That, however, was the shortsighted course of those who told them that in discussing questions of Intercolonial Federation — which were

practical questions of the moment—they were to leave out of sight the ultimate question of Imperial Federation. (“No, no;” “Yes, yes.”) He considered, whatever might be their views as to the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Forster in his very able paper, that they must all feel that he had done very great service to the whole question of Federation by the manner in which he had argued it out; and he had, moreover, shown that these two questions of Imperial and Intercolonial Federation, although they were quite distinct, must be viewed together. Mr. Forster’s conclusion was adverse to Intercolonial Federation, but he had borne Imperial Federation well in view, and, as far as he entered upon the subject, he was favourable to it. (Hear, hear.) And for what reason? Because Mr. Forster clearly distinguished between the two systems; he saw, and he had told them so very powerfully in his paper, that Intercolonial Federation would make great demands upon individual Colonies for the concession of questions to the Federal Government over which they at present had exclusive control. He had also pointed out that under a system of Intercolonial Confederation Victoria might be obliged to give up protection, or New South Wales to give up free trade. But he also knew, as he had indicated most clearly in his paper, that under a system of Imperial Federation no such demands would be made upon those Colonies. New South Wales might have the broad gauge, and Victoria might have the narrow gauge, and South Australia might have the medium gauge under a system of Imperial Confederation. They would have complete control, as far as the Federal Government was concerned, over their own affairs; their local interests and local questions would not in the smallest degree be touched. But Mr. Forster did see, and felt too, that by a system of Intercolonial Federation those questions to which the distinct Colonies attached so much importance might be taken out of their control, and might be decided contrary to their wishes by the Intercolonial Federal Government. Intercolonial Confederation made great demands upon the Colonies in the way of the concession of rights of local self-government. An Imperial Confederation made none—and that was the distinction between them; and it was most valuable that Mr. Forster had brought it out so clearly in his paper. All that Imperial Federation would demand from the Colonies would be that they should contribute a certain amount of revenue for general purposes of the Empire, for the maintenance of a navy, and other Imperial objects, and such amount of revenue would be a mere fraction; it could be adjusted in such a way as would be most convenient, and would least interfere with local interests. With regard to what Mr. Westgarth

said, never did the question of Imperial Federation arise but he cried aloud "Revolution!" Now, if Mr. Westgarth's definition of revolution were adopted and applied to that question of Imperial Confederation, he (Mr. Labillière) could prove in two minutes that Mr. Westgarth himself was one of the most dreadful revolutionists with whom he had ever had the pleasure of being acquainted. He could remember when Mr. Westgarth was returned as one of the six representatives of Victoria—then the Port Phillip district of New South Wales—to the Legislature in Sydney. He, with the five other revolutionists, strongly advocated the separation of Port Phillip and the establishment of the present Colony of Victoria; and they succeeded. When the first general election took place Mr. Westgarth, who was very highly and justly esteemed by his fellow-citizens in Melbourne, was returned at the head of the poll to the first Legislative Council of Victoria. And now for Revolution Number 2 with which Mr. Westgarth was concerned, which revolution was no less than the establishment of a responsible government in Victoria. He was also, he believed, one of the framers of the new constitution which now exists in Victoria. He (Mr. Labillière) did therefore contend that these were in their way as great and beneficial revolutions as the present proposal to establish Imperial Federation would be, when the time came for its establishment.

MR. WESTGARTH: All these are in the line of the constitution.

MR. LABILLIÈRE replied that Mr. Westgarth knew that the most beneficial changes that had taken place in the British Constitution had been brought about by revolution. In the same way, if they were to apply the term in the sense in which he would have them apply it, Mr. Westgarth knew they were indebted for the liberties and the greatness of England, nay the Colonial Empire itself, to the successful revolutions which took place in England two centuries ago, when they got rid of the House of Stuart. Mr. Westgarth also knew that the union of the United Kingdom was effected by two bloodless revolutions—one, the Parliamentary union of England and Scotland, and the other, the Parliamentary union of Great Britain and Ireland. Those were in their time as great revolutions as the establishment of Imperial Federation would be thirty or forty years' hence, when the time might arrive for its establishment. As to Intercolonial Confederation leading to a separation, he did not think that the experience of Canada led them to fear that. On the contrary, it led them to suppose it would have no such effect. Without pledging himself to his conclusions, he thanked Mr. Forster for the very able service he had rendered in elucidating the

most important questions of Imperial and Intercolonial Federation by the paper with which he had favoured them. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. TOBIN said he had endeavoured to follow the exact words used by the learned lecturer on that subject. Now, the speakers seemed somehow or other to have travelled altogether upon another line: they had neither confined the reader to his words, nor judged him by those words. What Mr. Forster said was to this effect—that “Confederation did not give any additional power or voice in Imperial affairs;” and nobody could deny but that that was a fact. “Federation could give the Colonies nothing which was not attainable in their present condition, so long as they remained a portion of the British Empire.” Nobody could deny that. “The hon. lecturer insisted on the expediency of leaving the question to be settled by the colonists themselves.” And why not? Who had a better right? He was a colonist, and one of six generations; and to tell him that he did not stand upon the same footing in one of those Colonies as a man in Hampshire! and to tell him that they had no right to give the same fealty to the Crown as a man in Hampshire, because he deprecated the interference of the Imperial Government, in watching not what seemed to be an Imperial, but, in every sense of the word, a Colonial and a local question! He maintained that the first part of the question—viz. no gain to the Colonies by the adoption of Confederation—could not be disputed. Therefore, Confederation of itself was useless and deceptive, and they would get nothing out of it. If it was of no advantage to them, why should they have it? The caution given to the Imperial Government to abstain from interference in this question would suggest that some object was to be secured by the Home Government. It occurred to him that all through, the learned lecturer had the idea that, whatever was done, the Home Government should not interfere—a point that had not been touched upon that evening by any speaker. He would attempt to supply Mr. Forster’s reason for that. Pray, then, what was that object? and why the fear and anxiety of interference? It was quite true the past ten years had not been marked as successful in Colonial movements, principally resulting from Imperial interference in matters purely Colonial. The Dominion Confederation was unbecomingly hurried through the British Legislature by Imperial influences, the well-known scheme of bribed political adventurers, despite the loyal petitions of thousands. (“No, no.”) It was so. He was in the country at the time. It was worked through by a politic scheme on one side, and opposed by others. The one was quite as much entitled to enjoy the opinion as the other; but, in

forwarding their case, what advantage did they get? The Alabama question, by which the resources of British America were handed over to the United States, was the first fruit under this unhappy union. The muddle and ruin of commerce had been added to the unstatesmanlike efforts of a system of government which would ere long destroy itself. ("Question.") They asked him to prove why that was so. He would show them. If Confederation was an honest and beneficial system of rule, why needed colonists to be coerced into the adoption of it, if the advantages were so transparent that they required no prompter? Why should the British Government especially bribe and pay for the advocacy of one-sided opinions, and visit with displeasure all who seemed to maintain honest but contrary convictions?

A MEMBER: Prove it.

Mr. TOBIN retorted that he would refer them to Michaeltown and Georgiana, where they would see a whole flock of them there who paid for it. Every Imperial servant, of all services, employed in the North American Colonies, was expected to talk and promote Confederation, right or wrong. Was that fair to the Colonies? The Imperial statesmen had their own views, to please their own English constituencies, and that was to be done at the sacrifice of the Colonies. England first, the Colonies second. That was a part of the equality they did not care about: If they had any opinion that the inequality would work injustice, let them speak it out, and speak it loudly. Then troops, tariffs, and treaties stood in the way. Those were the three points. Lord Cardwell blandly announced to the House of Commons that it would be far more convenient to deal with one power as a Dominion than separate interests representing numerous Colonies. His lordship might have added, that trickery and treachery were more easily accomplished in a single representation. Confederation became an Imperial necessity. The economic withdrawal of Imperial troops was easily managed. The leading journals of England proclaimed Canada as a State possessing every advantage under the sun.

The CHAIRMAN: I'm sorry to interfere; but don't you think you are going back to the past? We want the future.

Mr. TOBIN asked them to excuse him. He would show how they worked Canada, and that she was so prosperous and overwhelmingly powerful, and wanted no aid of any kind, having military resources in 750,000 fighting men. What, then, did they want of troops? Move them away, and they were prepared to defend themselves. That was made for the purpose of carrying out a polity which was in the mind of the British Parliament, that the

troops could be withdrawn from the Colony—which was a fact that had been that night disputed. In conclusion, as time did not admit of his saying more, he would declare that they would never make an Imperial Confederation acceptable to colonists.

Mr. PHILIP HANBURY was afraid they would think it was presumption in him to rise to speak, having only recently joined the Institute; but, having only left the hospitable shores of Australia in April last, he could not help saying a few words on the subject, and he felt—speaking, as he did, before many who had far more superior knowledge than himself on the subject—that he had reason to hope they would make every allowance for what he did say. He preferred to treat the subject both politically and commercially, and referred to the fact that while in Melbourne he had opportunities of speaking to a member of the Government on the question, which, he believed, was one of growing interest in the Colonies, although he thoroughly agreed with those who said it was a question that colonists should decide for themselves. He could not help feeling that if the Colonies of Victoria, New South Wales, South Australia, Tasmania, and Western Australia—and, let us hope, New Zealand—were federated together, it would be productive of a higher political status; that men of higher culture and ability would press to the fore, and strive to attain to high office over there. Treating the question commercially, he could not help thinking that, with regard to Federation, one of the first steps would be the introduction of Intercolonial Free Trade, in opposition to the present system of Protection. He could not help being struck, in the short visit spent over there, at the disadvantage that that group of sisters—as he would call those Colonies—laboured under with respect to their merchandise carried from Colony to Colony, and the taxes imposed on it. Speaking humbly as a commercial man, he could not help thinking that with Federation all that to a great extent would be done away with. With regard to home defence, when they looked at the complications that might arise in Europe; when they remembered—as William Edward Forster, one of their leading men, had told them a few years ago—that this little island possessed one-eighth of the globe; and while it was known also that English troops had been taken away from the Colonies, that in the future the Colonies might have to defend themselves, he could not help thinking that, with regard to Federation, the subject of defence—if the Colonies were federated together on that matter, it would be to their ultimate benefit. Moreover, seeing as he did that noble bay in Sydney, unequalled in the world, which

would make a splendid harbour for ships ; and if it was ever called upon to shelter a large number of vessels, there it was. But of this he was sure, that on one thing they, as Englishmen and colonists, were thoroughly united upon—and that was, the unity of the British Empire. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. F. W. STONE (of Canada) : As a young member of the Royal Colonial Institute, having only joined last week, and as a Canadian, he felt it was his duty, after what had fallen from a previous speaker, to stand up and make a few observations, however feeble they might be. They had, he thought, been told that night, and it had been accepted apparently more or less without question, that the effect of Confederation in Canada had been to render Canada very hostile to England, and that their public men there were men who existed by bribery—(“No, no”)—and that altogether the general state of Canada was wonderfully bad. It was the first he had heard of that, and he hoped it would be the last, for he did not believe that there was a morsel of truth in it. Then as to the real question which formed the subject of the paper, he should like to refer to the particular passage in Mr. Forster's remarks, which ran : “In fact, the conclusion we are driven to by the most cursory examination of the question is, that Federation can give them nothing which is not attainable in their present condition, so long as they remain a portion of the British Empire.” That was, he thought, a perfectly true proposition, and had the paper only said that the time had not yet come for the Federation of the Colonies, it would have been perfectly unanswerable ; nor did he think that anybody could have produced a single observation at the time to refute it, because, as Mr. Forster said, it would be no use joining together countries separated as those countries were by an enormous expanse of sea, unless they chose to have themselves bound together. Nevertheless, he thought that so long as they remained a portion of the British Empire, it was almost impossible to separate the question of Imperial Federation from that of Colonial Federation. He thought they must look forward to it ; he was sure that, sooner or later, Australia, being a large country, equally so as Canada was, they would be rather apt to feel that they should have some voice in public affairs in England. The question was, what would they do then ? and that was one side of the question. It appeared to him that the subject had been debated too much as a purely Colonial question. As he had said before, the question ought to be fairly considered on both sides. Some five years ago the question for debate in the Oxford Union Society was, “That the time has come for the emancipation of our Colonies.” Emancipation was a

strong term to apply to the relation between Great Britain and her Colonies, and after some time the House was persuaded to negative that motion. But he thought the arguments brought forward in that debate were fair. They were at that time popularly advocated in the *Times*, and were to the effect that the Colonies were a great source of expense to the Empire; and that all the cost of diplomacy and other political and commercial relations, including the cost of troops, fell upon England only. It appeared to him that it was a perfectly fair thing to say that the Colonies should, if they wished to continue members of this Empire, pay for the cost of their own defence, and be perfectly ready, in case of a war being brought about by England, to furnish a fair contingent of troops to the English army. He thought the time would come when England would say, "You are very expensive to us, and we think it is only fair that you should pay something towards that expense." (Hear, hear.) Modern legislation had proceeded on that line with regard to the Colonies, and he thought it very just too. The only question was, what would Colonists do when that moment arrived? They must either pay a contribution towards that expense or separate. If they were not separated, then that was the best moment to unite? In that way it seemed to him they must come either to separation or adopt Federation. As a colonist he strongly desired that it should be Federation—(hear, hear)—simply from a Colonial point of view. There were one or two other points mentioned with regard to Canada; one was the fisheries question. It was hardly a right thing to say they were bribed in that question—England having done them a great injury in giving the Americans an unfair share of their fishing rights—and that they received money to hush the matter up. The question was brought before the public, and it was decided that it was to England's interest to concede the right in question. The fact was, the Canadians were annoyed by unruly bands of men—who represented a disaffected set of men in the United States—making raids on the frontier at different times; and when the *Alabama* matter came to be settled, the United States demanded a share in the fisheries, and the Canadians, seeing it was to their interest to settle the matter, assented to its being settled in the way it was. He thought the same thing might apply to the British Columbia question. He had no wish to defend Canada for not having used more foresight with regard to that question. He believed they ought to have thought of this, that the lines would be very expensive. They ought certainly not to have tied themselves down to run a railway through a tract of country which could not possibly pay for a number of years, without taking

a large amount of time in which to run it. In this he thought they had behaved badly. They made a promise to British Columbia which they had been unable to fulfil. Just the same, however, as Canada was willing to allow her rights to be lost sight of in the fisheries question, so he thought British Columbia, being a small portion of their Dominion, ought to say, "Now, you made a mistake; if you like we will give you a fair and reasonable time, and with that we shall be content." (Hear, hear, and cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Youl), in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Forster for his very able paper, for which he was sure the Institute was very greatly indebted, said it was really a pattern of logical reasoning from the beginning to the end, and a grand contribution to the Royal Colonial Institute. It was very curious to watch the phases which the question of Colonial Federation had assumed in his time in England during the last twenty years. In their old Association, of which he was honorary secretary, they carried many measures for the benefit of the Australian Colonies, but they failed to persuade the Secretary of State to bring in a Bill in the House of Commons permitting the Colonies to federate if they thought fit. They urged this measure on the ground that the colonists were most anxious for it. One of the special clauses in their rules was that they should not undertake anything unless the colonists themselves had previously expressed a decided opinion favourable to it. Now, in the Constitution Acts,* passed in New South Wales and Victoria, they inserted a clause providing for Federation. Mr. Strangways, he thought it was, alluded to that question, and it was struck out of the Constitution Acts that were passed by a vote of the Cabinet Council. However, they were struck out; but it was his duty, before going up to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to prove to him that it was distinctly the wish of the three great Colonies—New South Wales, South Australia, and Victoria—that they desired Federation. And every paper, certainly the leading papers, advocated the Federation of the Colonies. Under these circumstances they went to the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Labouchere, and the points brought before him as necessary were tariffs, railways, lighthouses; and he never should forget his face when they said defences. "Federate for defences," he said; "do that, and they would very soon separate." Bearing out the views which Mr. Forster had enunciated in his paper, he thought, if they were to take Mr. Forster's opinion—nor could he see why they should not, for he had held a very high position, and with very great distinction to himself, in New South Wales, representing also a very large portion of the feeling of those Colonies—at the present moment they

were not desirous of Federation. What a change had taken place since the time they went up to the Colonial Secretary, assuming, of course, Mr. Forster was right that they were at present unfavourable to Federation ! He would draw attention to the fact that, so far as the Federation of Colonies was carried out, he thought it had been on the whole a success. (Hear, hear.) He presumed they must have had very much like the same difficulties that the Australian Colonies had with regard to troops, lighthouses, and other things. Therefore he could not see why it should be so successful in one Colony and not be equally so with the others. Neither could he think it would lead to separation, nor could he see why Mr. Forster had come to that conclusion. He thought it was more likely to bring out those great principles which must be enunciated as the Colonies grew greater. He did not believe Mr. Forster would deny that the Australian Colonies could ever become an important nation if they remained separate Colonies. Why should the United States of America have joined together ? Was it not the union that had made them so great ? Was it not the union of Ireland and Scotland that made England so great ? He could not see how the Australias could become a great and important nation unless they federated. That, of course, must be done by themselves. Nothing that we could do here in taking steps to accomplish such Federation would bring it about speedily ; on the contrary, it might defer and delay it. He believed they could not federate unless they got power to do so from the Imperial Parliament, and he could see no harm if such a Bill was passed, to let them federate when they pleased if they wished. With regard to the discussion, there had been very strong views expressed on both sides, but whether they were for or against Federation, he was quite sure that Mr. Forster had added one of the most able papers on the subject, and for that paper he was sure they would give him their hearty thanks. (Cheers.)

The vote was carried unanimously.

Mr. FORSTER, who, on rising, was received with loud cheers, said : Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen : I do not know, considering the very vast amount of really able support my views have received, and when I consider also the quantity of material evidence on my side of the question that has been elicited upon the other side, I do not know that I have really much to trouble you with in reply. But I hope that some allowance will be made for one who is entitled, and perhaps expected, to reply to some dozen speeches that have been made on two separate evenings, and with so much ability as those speeches have been characterised by. It

seems to me that I have only to deal with some salient points on which, I think, I have been misunderstood, and that otherwise I may leave the opposing arguments on the other side to have such weight as they deserve. First, returning to the speeches of the other evening, I must say that I think my friend Sir Julius Vogel need not have taken the pains he took to place the ægis of his protection over Sir Hercules Robinson and Lord Carnarvon—not that those gentlemen are so distinguished but that they may want a friend to help them at times out of a difficulty—but on this occasion it seems to me that there was no necessity, especially to name them as having been hardly dealt with. With regard to Lord Carnarvon, representing as he does the present Government, I was quite misunderstood by Sir Julius Vogel when he attributed to me that I accused the Imperial Government of any attempt at coercion. Of course, one must be a tremendous ignoramus in the present day—and I should feel ashamed of myself having been a Minister of the Crown on several occasions, and having been an old politician too in a small sphere—if I required to be told that the Imperial Government had no power to coerce the Colonies into Federation. All I said was, and the purport of my paper goes, to deprecate interference; and we all know very well, every parent knows, that although they have lost in the present day the power of making their daughters marry as they please, what a great deal can be done to make a girl marry a person she dislikes if the parents use the influence they have over her. So with regard to the Colonies: the Government have enormous power and influence, and I have thought it right, in the interest of both the Colonies and the Empire, to deprecate that kind of interference, and to leave it to the colonists themselves to settle the question among them. With regard to Lord Carnarvon, I am perfectly aware that it is possible that he is carrying out a policy of which he does not much approve, but to which he has been committed by his predecessors. We in the Colonies look upon the present Government as having the interests of the Colonies at heart, and as sympathising with us more than the late Government. I may be wrong in thinking so, but that is my impression, and especially with regard to Lord Carnarvon, than whom, I think, a better Colonial Minister never existed. With regard to Sir Hercules Robinson, I should like to make a personal explanation. I find myself placed in antagonism to him, being myself a public servant in England. I admit that it is inconvenient, and it may be unseemly, in Sir Hercules Robinson and myself thus taking two conflicting sides in an important question of this sort, and I wish therefore to say that if I had

anticipated that Sir Hercules Robinson would have made the speech he did at Albury, you would not have been troubled with the reading of the paper from me on that subject: I should have chosen another subject. But, as Mr. Young knows, I was asked to read a paper some time ago, and I chose, perhaps unfortunately, this one, and entitled it "*Fallacies of Federation*;" and it was only after the paper was prepared for press that Sir Hercules Robinson's speech was reported, and I therefore found myself in a position from which I could not withdraw, and it would have been discourteous to Sir Hercules Robinson himself if I had not taken some notice of his speech. I am quite certain that Sir Hercules Robinson is the last man to take the least offence at the position which, perhaps unfortunately, but inadvertently, I have been led to occupy. I come now to one or two points on the main question, and I will just notice some remarks of Mr. Hyndman's, because he seems to have overlooked a vital point in the question of Federation, in that very part of the world to which he particularly applied his remarks—I mean the Cape Colonies. Mr. Hyndman seems to me to have justified in a very great degree the somewhat apparently discursive remarks of mine upon ancient or historical Confederations, upon which points I was taken to task by Mr. Westgarth, who said he thought a good deal of that was beside the question. Now Mr. Hyndman failed, as he did, to perceive the most important difficulty in the way of Federation at the Cape, and accordingly seems to me to have justified a good deal, if not all, the proofs I adduced of the essential character of the sovereign elements in all Confederations. He treats as matters of no consequence at all the amalgamation of two Republics with the British Colonies. I must confess even on that point he sees further than I do if he has not placed himself in a difficulty. I must say that it seems to me a very great difficulty to bring into such an amalgamation as is implied by the word Federation, two such essentially different communities, in their very essence and in their institutions, as Republics and the British Colonies. That difficulty might, however, be got over; but the chief difficulty is that those two free states are independent and sovereign states, and before any confederation with them could be effected they would have to surrender what the British Colonies do not possess, and therefore could not surrender, that is, a sovereign character. They would occupy, in entering that Confederation, the very same position that was occupied by the United States of America in their original compact, and by all those states which have been mentioned in the course of this discussion as having joined in Federation. They are sovereign

states, and would surrender this sovereignty, which those British Colonies would not. I think that is an important, and it seems to me an almost insuperable, difficulty in the way of Federation. And I venture to predict that this proposal of forming a Federation at the Cape, which these two Free States are to be invited to join—I venture to predict, notwithstanding the way in which it seems to me the newspapers deal with that point, that that would be an almost insuperable difficulty in obtaining that Federation which is considered so desirable. We have not yet learned what the Free States think about it. We hear of meetings and resolutions passed, but we have heard of no authoritative views from those communities to indicate either their hopes or their fears, or what they expect upon that point. But, after all, my most important and warmest assailant has been one that, when I consider his speech from beginning to end, I should have thought was warmly on my side—I mean the gentleman who expressed himself so eloquently in favour of Imperial Federation. I should have thought that if this gentleman had read my paper attentively, he would have seen from beginning to end that the leading idea is the desirability of Imperial Federation, and the danger that arises from allowing the Colonies to break themselves up into separate groups and nationalities, which, I take it, would be a great obstacle towards bringing them into that Imperial Federation which he, as I do myself, so thoroughly desires. It was in the interests of Imperial Federation that I conceived the ideas which I have put together in a humble form in my paper; and I believe I may say that it was the leading idea that actuated me in using the arguments I did use. But my friend, the gentleman in question, who it seems entirely agrees with me on that point, takes me to task for holding narrow views, and for arguments which he says are scarcely fit to be considered or conceived by those who hold higher and grander, and I may say more poetic, views upon the questions than appear to have been embodied in those narrow arguments of mine. But, in Heaven's name, I ask you, with what argument would you go to the Colonies of Victoria and New South Wales in favour of Confederation? Do you think that this rhetorical exhibition of the grandness of the idea, unsupported by any argument, would be worth twopence to those Colonies? I venture to say—though I am far from asserting that such a speech should have been lost, for it forms at least an ornamental part of our proceedings, and I admire it exceedingly—that such a speech would have little effect upon the colonists themselves in inducing them to join a Federal system. And I think that every English statesman knows perfectly well that you

must look at every question not only from a transcendental but from a practical point of view ; and if you go to the Colonies to induce them to accept Federation, you would have to use more of practical than transcendental arguments. We are told that what is wanted is union, that a number of objects would be better obtained by Federal union than they are at present. But it seems to me that all my opponents have failed to show that. Not one of them has pointed out why Federal union is better than any other sort of union. With regard to Victoria, we want a railway between Sydney and Albury ; we want the same gauge, and many other small things of that kind. Would it be a reason for joining France and England in a federal system because you find it convenient to connect them by a Channel tunnel ? Suppose you even built a bridge—if that is ever to come—or by a tunnel you found it convenient to connect these countries, would that be a reason for Federation ? But this is a question which concerns the two countries as much as a railway does Victoria and Sydney ; is that a reason then why France and England are to confederate ? Can you not arrange the matter without Federation ? With regard to all these questions dealt with on both sides as matters of great moment, I say not an argument has been used yet to prove that you are nearer their solution, or have an easier way of attaining your end than by negotiation, or by other such means between the Colonies, and that seems to me the great defect of the arguments used on the other side. But to return to what is practical. If you go to Victoria, the Victorians have a kind of fanaticism in favour of Protection—they are determined to have protection ; if you convince them that Federation will give them free trade, do you expect them to join your Federation ? I should like to know how that dilemma is got over by those who are in favour of Free Trade and Federation at the same time. But, as I have said, the whole question requires to be looked at from that point of view which involves the consideration of a future Imperial Federation. The more I hear of arguments in favour of Federation the more I deprecate the formation, not of separate nationalities, for I scarcely believe in the nationality of a Colony, but of separate groups which will be held together so long as self-interest holds them together ; groups falling away from British nationality, separated by a political barrier raised up between them, which will never be got back again to that allegiance to the Empire and their race which they at present own, and which would now be one of the best arguments you can use, and one of the best elements you can rely upon in order to induce them to join

Imperial Federation. I trust all those who have looked at the question have considered it also from a national point of view, and they will see that I have not gone too far, that I have not done too much in insisting upon the sovereign element as a constituent part of all Federations. The great distinction between Colonial and Imperial Federation will be that every Colony would enter your Imperial Federation as a sovereign state, or it would be no Imperial Federation in the proper sense of the word. If you form small groups you get nothing by it—you get nothing by it in greatness, nor do you make any nearer approach to the grand ideas of my friend on my right. The great question here is, Are we one nation throughout all these groups? are all those nationalities only part of ours, or do you expect those Colonies to grow up into other nations? I don't believe it myself. If we look back upon the Greek and the Roman Colonies, what became of them when the Roman and Greek nationalities dispersed? Where are the nations that sprung up afterwards? New blood and race was necessary, and new nationalities were necessary to form new empires. The only Colonies which one may refer to as having an appearance of thus growing up into nations are the Phœnicians. But we know so little of their earlier history that it would not be safe to rely upon them as a case in point. But, looking at the great European states, whenever a nationality is broken up, none of its component parts have ever formed a nation afterwards. Look at the wretched attempts that are being made now in Greece and Italy under the impression that they are forming nations. We can see that they have no organisation; they cannot fight except under officers of Teutonic blood. That seems to be the case, then, with all effete nations; and if I be right, all I ask is that the question should be left to settle itself unfettered. If I be right, those races joined to us, not only by common nationalities, but by the importance they derive by their connection with us, are preparing themselves, not for groups of Federation all over the world, but for entering that great Imperial Federation which my friend has spoken of, and which, it seems to me, has met with such favour from everyone in this assembly. (Cheers.)

A vote of thanks to the chairman concluded the meeting.

FIFTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Fifth Ordinary General Meeting took place at the "Pall Mall," on Tuesday, February 18th, 1877.

In the absence of the President, His Grace the Duke of Manchester, the Right Hon. Lord CARLINGFORD, Vice-President, occupied the Chair.

The Minutes of the Fourth Ordinary General Meeting were read by the Hon. Sec., FREDK. YOUNG, Esq., and confirmed.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon JOHN PLUMMER, Esq., to read the following paper on

THE COLONIES AND THE ENGLISH LABOURING CLASSES.

It has frequently formed a cause of considerable surprise and even deep mortification on the part of colonists newly arrived in the mother-country that, notwithstanding the fact of the bulk of our Colonial population being of English origin, speaking the English language, and reproducing English customs, so little, comparatively speaking, should be known of the character, resources, and prospects, both social and industrial, of the extensive countries inhabited by them. To the Colonial mind such an amount of ignorance on our part is inexplicable. The colonist takes the deepest interest in the affairs of the old country; for no matter in whatever part of the world he may be residing, he considers himself an Englishman in heart and soul, and marvels why, instead of being welcomed as a kinsman, he is too often treated as a stranger, as illustrated in the cool and off-hand manner in which the Australian sculler, Edward Trickett, was received by the English aquatic world. That man came from Sydney for the purpose of trying his skill against that of the most famous and experienced men in this country; but instead of being congratulated by his rivals on the success achieved by him, he found them complaining that the sculling championship had been won by a "foreigner." This may appear strange, yet in more than one newspaper I have found the victor of Sadler described in terms more suggestive of a Frenchman or a German, than of an Australian. Because Canada, Australia, and other British Colonies happen to be situated at a considerable distance from the mother-country, they are often regarded as places

in which the comforts, enjoyments, and advantages of civilised life are unknown. People have a vague kind of notion that in Canada and Australia society is in a kind of topsy-turvy condition: social ease and refinement being unknown, and wealthy vulgarity—represented by a rich gold-digger in a red shirt and big boots—the ruling social and political power. Some few years ago there appeared in one of the illustrated papers a series of sketches by a well-known lady artist, in which the leading features of social life in Australia were grossly misrepresented. One of these pictures professed to give a view of the dress-circle and private boxes of the leading theatre in Melbourne, which were shown filled with a throng not unlike that which crowds the sixpenny seats in a London music-hall. Such pictorial libels on Colonial life and manners are most reprehensible, not merely because of their untruth, but because of their tendency to foster unfounded prejudices and mischievous impressions in connection with Colonial matters. There has been a great improvement in this respect within the last few years, but such distorted and exaggerated sketches of Colonial life are still far from being uncommon, the result being that there exists in nearly every class of society many absurd and erroneous notions respecting the true character of Colonial manners and customs, especially those of Australia.

Even persons usually supposed to be well-informed are often found labouring under the impression that an emigrant, instead of finding a cottage ready built for him in the suburbs of a populous Canadian or Australian town, has, with the labour of his own hands, to erect a log-hut in which to reside with his family. Indeed, log huts and emigration are invariably found associated in the minds of vast numbers of individuals, who appear unaware of the fact that the majority of Colonial homes, especially those inhabited by the labouring classes, are quite as good and comfortable, if not more so, as those found in this country. Until a comparatively recent period the popular idea of Canada was that it possessed a kind of Arctic climate during the greater portion of the year, and that the land was covered with boundless forests and enormous lakes, the solitudes of which were disturbed only by the war-whoop of the Indian savage or the crack of the hunter's rifle. Fennimore Cooper and other American novelists, whose works, so full of strange and exciting adventure, have long enjoyed an extensive popularity in this country, circulating to the extent of several millions of volumes, of every shape and price, must be held responsible in no slight degree for the highly picturesque, but none the less erroneous, impressions of Canadian life found prevailing

in the public mind. On mentioning to an English lady the character of Miss Rye's scheme for sending our pauper children to Canadian farm-houses, she expressed a fear that they would fall into the hands of the Indians. This may appear very ludicrous, but it proved one fact, namely, that the lady, like many other English people, possessed no adequate idea of the vast extent of Canadian territory. It is the same with Australia. People here often speak of Sydney and Melbourne as if they were neighbouring cities, and think that all the colonists, no matter in what part of Australia they may reside, must have some personal knowledge of each other. A member of the Australian rifle team, which competed last year at Wimbledon, writing to his friends in Melbourne, said: "I must tell you an amusing thing which occurred to King and I one day when we were sitting at dinner. As we all dressed alike, we got pretty well known as 'the Australians' about camp, and one day he and I were at dinner; at the table was a third person, and as we were talking about Melbourne and other places, he came in with, 'You are Australians, I think?' Yes. 'Ah, I have a cousin out there—his name is Clinton; perhaps you know him?' 'Does he live in Melbourne?' I asked; but he didn't know that. 'He was in Australia, somewhere.' 'Was he a squatter?' asked King. The man looked a shade staggered, but, not to be beaten, replied, 'No, I think he is a Cornishman.'" In another portion of his letter the same writer alludes to the erroneous impressions of the Australian Colonies which he found prevailing amongst members of the educated classes. A gentleman from Natal assured me that at least nine persons out of every ten whom he encountered had not the slightest idea in what part of the world the Colony to which he belonged was situated. This is not to be wondered at, considering that even amongst the "powers that be" there seems to exist rather confused notions of South African topography, seeing that in the Queen's speech the "Transvaal Republic" is mentioned; the framers of the sentence in which this expression appears evidently being unaware of the fact that there is no such government, although there is a South African Republic.

Perhaps no part of the habitable globe has suffered more from systematic misrepresentation than has Australia. Much of this is directly traceable to the transportation system which formerly existed. Englishmen knew Australia only as a convict settlement, and but for the irresistible attractions furnished by the gold discoveries, it is probable that the march of Colonial industrial and social progress would have remained comparatively slow. Even after transportation had become abolished and the general char-

acter of the country better known, the prevalence of bushranging led many to believe that there existed little security for life or property, and that those who set any value on either would do well to remain at home. Again, as in the case of Canada, the actual extent of the Australian Colonies is little understood by the general public, who sometimes appear to think that Victoria and New South Wales are each about the size of Yorkshire. If the English people, especially the labouring classes, possessed a full and accurate knowledge of the Colonies and the many inducements offered by them to all who possess a strong arm, a stout heart, and the qualities of patience and perseverance, there can be no question that the tide of emigration to those climes would become considerably increased, not by the accession of larger numbers of the unskilled, for whom no work is to be found in the old country, but of many of those whose indomitable energy and love of industrial enterprise form a valuable acquisition to any community. The idea which should be entertained by the English people is, not that the Colonies are foreign countries, in which strange laws and customs are found prevailing, but that they are as much portions of the British Empire as are England or Scotland, and that an emigrant in leaving the shores of his native land for those of Canada or Australia is merely departing to another and larger England.

The two methods commonly resorted to for the purpose of furnishing the public with information respecting the Colonies are, the delivery of popular lectures and the systematic distribution of books and pamphlets descriptive of particular Colonies. It was principally through the instrumentality of these two agencies that South Australia, in former years, and Queensland and Canada, in later times, have become so familiar by name to the English people. But the efforts made by these three Colonies originated with the view of inducing suitable persons to emigrate to the same, and this naturally produced a tendency on the part of both lecturers and writers not merely to exaggerate the advantages offered by their respective Colonies, but also to speak in terms of disparagement of other countries. This is a failing almost inseparable from any movement for the promotion of emigration from the mother-country to those lands, and to the frequency with which the pictures of Colonial life have been over-coloured is attributable much of the disappointment experienced by large numbers of emigrants, whose letters from the land of their adoption to their friends and relatives at home have often been couched in such sad and desponding language as to create a cruel and unfounded prejudice in the minds of their readers against the Colonies. I am not mak-

ing any complaint against any Colonial Government or against individuals ; I am merely stating a fact well known to most professional journalists, especially in the manufacturing districts, for there are few newspaper editors who have not, at some time or other, received for publication letters and other communications from emigrants, in which matters relating to Colonial life are described in the gloomiest manner imaginable. Some few years ago I formed a collection of these letters, numbering at least three or four hundred, with the view of showing the misconceptions and prejudices which must inevitably be awakened in the public mind were such statements allowed to remain uncontradicted. In the majority of instances the writers were evidently desirous of relating the truth, but misfortune and disappointment had unconsciously biassed their statements. In one case a cotton manufacturing operative, who had been more used to Lancashire factory life than to agricultural labour, complained that it was wrong to ask working-men to go out to the Colonies, because it was not the right place for them. If he had said that few should go except those who were fitted to endure severe toil in the open air, he would have been more correct. If it were possible for the various Colonial Governments to organise a system whereby all such complaints might be carefully examined and explained, much of the prejudice excited by their publication might be removed. Editors, as a rule, have no personal feeling in the matter, and are perfectly willing that both sides should have a fair hearing, although in both the manufacturing and agricultural districts the papers which represent the interests of the employers naturally evince a disinclination to encourage emigration, lest it tend to diminish the labour supply, and thereby assist in raising the rate of wages.

In many cases where good, practical lectures have been delivered to the right class of hearers, men and women desirous of being instructed, a thirst for further information has been created, but the means of supplying the same are not always forthcoming. In aid of the Queensland emigration movement, a large number of exceedingly well-written pamphlets, descriptive of the character and resources of that country, were distributed throughout the United Kingdom ; but in the case of the other Colonies the works which the public are told to consult are generally large volumes of dry statistical details, more calculated to repel than to stimulate curiosity. Some few years ago I was requested by the editor of the *Weekly Dispatch* to supply a series of papers entitled, "The Emigration Fields of the World," and in the preparation of these I naturally consulted all the official publications procurable, and in

so doing I was struck with the fact of their general unreadableness. Even the information supplied for the use of emigrants is often so voluminous and technical in character as to be useless. This led to my preparing the "Guide to Emigrants" contained in the earlier volumes of the "Australian Hand-book," published by Messrs. Gordon & Gotch; but what is required is something similar in a cheaper form and stamped with the approbation of official authority. The truth is, that, in nine times out of ten, those who have the preparation of works on the Colonies either do not possess the power of presenting their facts in a readable shape, or else they forget that they are writing for the edification of those who are not so well informed as themselves. At the same time, I admit that there are many good and readable books on the Colonies, but their price too frequently places them beyond the reach of the general public. If ever a Colonial Museum should be established, it would be a great advantage to the people of this country if a free library of works on the Colonies could be formed in connection with the same. Something of the kind is sadly wanted here. Much of the ignorance displayed by journalists respecting those lands arises from the absence of any such institution. If they go to the British Museum in search of works on the Colonies and Colonial questions, they are completely at a loss unless they are acquainted with the names of the writers, for in the British Museum the hundreds, nay thousands, of volumes on Australia, Canada, and other places are not classified as such. Surely, if we really wish the nation to learn to take an interest in Colonial matters, we ought to assist in placing facilities for obtaining good and sound information within the reach of its instructors. Such a library as that suggested would prove of considerable value also to the hundreds of able and well-disposed men, who, as free lecturers, are constantly making the platform a source of popular instruction. Give them the materials, and they will not fail to make a skilful and judicious use of the same. In fact, we must bring the information to those who can properly utilise it. If the mountain will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet must go to the mountain.

There is, however, one serious defect which characterises many works on the Colonies, and which detracts considerably from their value and usefulness, not to mention the indirect manner in which they tend to confirm existing prejudices and erroneous impressions. I allude to their narrow-mindedness and self-glorifying tone. If we take up a work on the Colony of Victoria, the chances are that we find that country praised at the expense of its neighbours; that, in fact, Victoria is spoken of as if it were Australia proper. I do

not blame any colonist for standing up and speaking his best on behalf of the place to which he belongs. Such conduct is perfectly natural ; but it has its disadvantages, as shown by the fact that the London papers frequently described the Hon. George Verdon as " the Agent-General for Australia." Even within the last few days a leading morning journal, alluding to the paper recently read before the Council and members of this Institute by the Agent-General for New South Wales, described him as " Mr. Forster, of Australia," which is very much like saying " Mr. Jones, of Europe." I have read several works by Colonial writers in which certain Colonies are described as if no others were in existence. This may be very gratifying to Colonial vanity ; but the results, as shown in the formation of public opinion in this country, are often of a most deplorable description. Each of these countries has its proper place in the world, and if, instead of continually sneering at each other like a number of fashionable ladies, they were to mutually extend the hand of good-fellowship, and make the interests of one the interests of all, not only would their self-respect and natural dignity become enormously increased, but they would effectually assist in making themselves better known to the nations of the old world. This is not the time for inter-Colonial jealousies and squabbles, which have only the effect of bewildering the English people and adversely affecting the coveted flow of new population to their shores. Whatever may be his faults, the English working-man is a shrewd, clear-headed, practical man ; and when he finds the Melbourne man saying, " Don't go to New South Wales, it is so awfully slow," and the Sydney man saying in like fashion, " Don't go to Victoria, it is so dreadfully fast," he begins to suspect there is something wrong, and that he would act wisely in remaining at home. Each of the Colonies have their especial advantages, and surely these can be explained without unduly lauding one Colony and unfairly depreciating another.

If these recommendations were acted upon, it would become practicable to supply a long-felt want, that of a Colonial Labour Guide. It is all very well to tell an English artisan that if he goes to Canada or Australia he will obtain employment at certain rates, that the cost of board and lodging is so much, and that he will find himself better off in every respect. This kind of thing will not do for the better class of artisans, the men who may fairly be termed the aristocracy of toil. Such workmen are generally very slow and cautious in forming a decision : they like to see their way first. Before they will consent to leave their native country to

seek employment in a new land, they require to be informed, first, whether the work obtainable is such as they have been accustomed to ; second, if it is not, whether it is of a character suited to their especial experience and skill. For instance, we have in New South Wales vast deposits of coal, and it is probable that in due time large bodies of miners will be required in addition to those now employed in working them. But it will not suffice to inform the English miners that employment awaits them at the Antipodes. They must be told whether it is the kind of mining to which they have been accustomed. Coal-mining in Leicestershire and coal-mining in Durham are two very different things, although inexperienced persons would not imagine such to be the case. It is here that all our lecturers and pamphlets on the Colonies break down. We are told the extent of the Colonial coal-fields, the increasing amount of coal raised, and other details of a similar character, but there is no technical information. Consequently, the English miner is in doubt on the subject, because he does not know whether the conditions of labour at the Antipodes are the same as in the mother-country. And what I have said of the coal-miner is applicable to almost every industrial calling. A workman in the prime of life does not like to recommence his industrial apprenticeship. This will explain, in some measure, apart from the comparatively small cost of passage, the preference exhibited by many of our artisans for the United States. They know that whatever may have been the nature of their industrial training, it will stand them in good stead ; that if they cannot obtain suitable occupation in one city, they will find it in another. Moreover, the characteristic features of American agricultural and manufacturing industry are continually being described at great length in the Transatlantic newspapers, which find their way here in thousands and tens of thousands, whereas the Australian papers are principally known by their summary editions, the issues containing accounts of local industries reaching this country in comparatively small numbers. There are several Canadian and Australian works descriptive of leading Colonial industrial establishments ; but these being intended principally for the general reader, would prove useless as sources of information to the inquiring artisan.

It is true that much of the knowledge which appears to be so essential to the proper appreciation of the industrial resources of the Colonies, is procurable at the offices of the Agents-General, but this does not suffice ; it should be within the reach of every working-man, no matter in what part of the United Kingdom he may reside. I believe that several of our great trade organisations

have done something in this direction, but am by no means certain on that point. If the various Colonial Governments were to put themselves in communication with the leaders of these societies, explaining the character of the labour required, and the assistance which would be afforded suitable emigrants, it is probable that they would be more successful in obtaining a supply of the desired descriptions of labour than by the efforts of any number of lecturers, or the distribution of thousands of unreadable pamphlets. The great thing required, however, is the diffusion of information respecting the real character of the work for which hands are wanted. This would be best accomplished by means of such a Labour Guide as that which I have suggested, and which should contain no extraneous details or statistics. A Yorkshire cloth weaver does not care whether a Colony possesses fifty woollen mills or only one. What he wants to know is whether he can obtain remunerative employment, and whether his condition is likely to be bettered by his transferring his labours to a new sphere of usefulness. If this kind of information were more general, the tide of Colonial emigration would exhibit a marked increase; and not only this, but the labour supply would be found of a much superior quality. It is possible that if the preparation of a Labour Guide were found impossible for the present, that a series of short official technical reports on the character, condition, and prospects of leading Colonial industries would prove of service, and might even find their way into the newspapers circulating in the manufacturing districts. If I understand rightly, the glass manufacture is making good progress in Australia, and experienced workmen can obtain constant employment at considerably higher wages than in this country. But this is a fact almost unknown to the glass-workers here. Why should it be so? There is, however, another matter on which I must place considerable stress, namely, the desirability of prompt information whenever a stagnation of industry in any particular trade arises, no matter what may be the cause. To the neglect of this simple precaution is directly traceable much of the distrust with which encouraging accounts of industrial affairs abroad are often received by the working-classes in the mother-country. The Colonial papers too frequently devote themselves to the task of endeavouring to prove that the dearth of employment ought not to exist, instead of admitting the fact, and counselling people at home to wait until a change for the better occurs. The Colonial agents are rarely to blame in such instances. If they err, it is generally on the side of caution. Certainly there are few emigrants, if any, who can state that they were the victims of official misrepresenta-

tions. The fault lies rather with the Colonial press, which does not always possess the courage to admit that things are not quite what they should be ; though it must be admitted that of late years there has been a considerable improvement in this respect.

Perhaps one of the most curious of the many popular misapprehensions of the true character of Colonial life, is that arising out of the idea that the majority of inhabitants live in tents or wooden shanties. This absurd notion is not confined to the working-classes. Indeed, I have an impression that on this point the English artisan is better informed than are many of his so-called social superiors. But be that as it may, there can be no question that comparatively few persons in this country are aware of the fact that in the Colonies are to be found many cities and towns far more handsome, better built, and more picturesquely situated than are the majority of similar extent in England. I was so much impressed with this fact, that I suggested to the late Sir Charles Cowper, when he intimated his intention of removing the offices of the New South Wales Agency to Victoria-street, that he should make arrangements for permanently exhibiting in one or more of the rooms the fine collection of photographs of buildings and scenery of New South Wales, which formed a conspicuous feature in the Colonial portion of the South Kensington Exhibition. This suggestion was carried out ; but Sir Charles did not find himself in a position to comply with another suggestion made by me, to the effect that the collection should be periodically loaned to the Peel Park Museum, at Salford, Manchester, and other places, where it would be viewed by many thousands of persons, who would thus be enabled to form a better idea of the leading scenic, architectural, and industrial features of the Colony than could be obtained from any amount of reading. I still believe, in the absence of a Colonial museum, that something of this kind ought to be done. It is one of the cheapest and most effectual modes of enhancing the popular interest in the Colonies.

In a letter published some time ago in the *Sydney Morning Herald* there was a suggestion, based on the circumstance of many thousands of letters being annually received in this country from residents in the Colonies, that sheets of letter paper, containing short and graphic accounts of each country printed on one of the four pages, should be sold at a low rate by the local authorities. For instance, a colonist in South Australia might thus be enabled to furnish his relatives and friends in England with a large amount of information which he, of his own personal knowledge, knew to be accurate, but which he lacked either the time or ability to

express in his own words. Such a letter received, say, in an agricultural village, would be read by all the inhabitants, and the contents impressed upon their minds more forcibly than by means of the platform or the newspaper press. Each Colony might have a series of these news-letters, if they may be so called, so as to meet the tastes or the requirements of the different writers ; for the information which would prove acceptable to an agricultural labourer would be useless to an artisan. This, however, is a matter which concerns the Colonies more than ourselves, and need not be farther alluded to here, save as an excuse for stating that if instruction in Colonial geography and history were to be made a more prominent feature in English Board School education, the necessity for such expedients would rapidly disappear. The amount of Colonial education at present imparted is of an exceedingly slight and superficial character. But for this it is not fair to blame the School Boards, considering how recently the great experiment of national education has been commenced. Moreover, it must be remembered that so far as a knowledge of the Colonies is concerned, most of the instructors themselves stand in need of instruction. They can give us the date when Captain Cook first landed on antipodean shores, but they, too often, cannot tell us whether the Murray is a small stream or a large river, or through what part of Australia it winds its devious course.

So far as the instruction-books used in the Board Schools go they are generally good and reliable, but they do not afford sufficient information or assist in stimulating a thirst for further knowledge. Canada and Australia are described as if they were simply a couple of South American states. But it must not be inferred from this that the Metropolitan and other School Boards are indifferent or averse to a more extensive system of instruction in Colonial matters forming a portion of their educational routine : nothing of the kind. But they cannot move in the matter without some impetus from without. They must be supported by public opinion.

Yet there ought to be no difficulty experienced in obtaining such support, especially if the proposed Imperial Museum for India and the Colonies should become a fact, for in such an institution is to be found the real means of effectually enlightening the English people respecting the true character of those countries, providing the various Colonial Governments furnish both moral and pecuniary support to the movement. If the suggestions of Dr. J. Forbes Watson were carried out in their entirety, one of the features of the proposed museum would, I believe, be a spacious hall for the delivery of lectures descriptive of the contents of the museum. If

special courses of lectures, followed by examinations, to school teachers could be arranged, we should have made the first step towards the systematic Colonial instruction of the whole nation. But the teachers would not attend without some inducement. This, however, might be afforded by means of money prizes, ranging in value from five pounds to ten shillings each, to the most successful candidates for examination, and large, handsome-looking certificates to all who reach a certain standard of proficiency. Similar lectures and examinations open to the members of mechanics' institutes, working men's clubs, and kindred societies, might also be organised on the same conditions. Ultimately, as experience was gained and public interest in the movement became increased, prizes and certificates might be awarded children attending Board and private schools who successfully passed examinations in Colonial knowledge. But we must attend to the teachers first. If the experiment succeeded in London, it might become extended to the provinces, and ultimately to the whole of the United Kingdom. The result would be that the rising generation would not only become intimately acquainted with the history and character of the Colonies, but also learn to regard their life and institutions with favour. Everything depends on first impressions. Many a suitable artisan has declined to leave his native land simply because he found himself unable to overcome the prejudices created by ignorance or imperfect information in previous years. It is said that if we take care of the shillings the pounds will take care of themselves : in like manner it may be remarked that if we instruct the children, the children will instruct the men.

But all this will cost money, and where are the funds to come from ? Considering that the Colonies would be the principal gainers by the movement, they certainly ought to bear a fair share of the burden. A fund of £5,000 per annum would suffice so far as the Metropolis and a few of the chief centres of manufacturing industry were concerned, providing the local authorities cordially co-operated in the movement. It should not, however, be forgotten that England would ultimately become the most largely benefited by the increased knowledge thus acquired of its Colonies and Dependencies, for it would assist in preventing the development of that fatal sentiment of indifference to Colonial interests which in former years led the United States of America to declare their independence of the mother-country. Never was the saying that " Knowledge is power " more applicable than in the case of England and her Colonies. It is not by treating our colonists as foreigners, as people alien to us in manners, customs, and feeling, that we shall

cause them to retain those kindly sentiments which make them, whether in South Africa, Canada, Australia, or elsewhere, regard themselves as fellow-sharers of the greatness and glory of the parent-land. Great changes are impending in the future, but what may be their nature no man may dare foretell. Colonial Federation may become an accomplished fact, or it may not. The Colonies may break their allegiance to the English Crown, or they may assist in riveting still more firmly the links which bind together the various portions of the British Empire; but no matter what may be the results produced in the future, the popular ignorance of the Colonies and Colonial matters which now prevails must be dispelled. It is essential to the interests of both the parent country and its offshoots that the English-speaking peoples in the two hemispheres should mutually understand and appreciate each other, not as members of different foreign states, but as members of the great English family. It is to the manner in which the inhabitants of the United States were so long misrepresented and misunderstood by the land which sent forth the Pilgrim Fathers, that much of the jealousy and ill-feeling which has more than once brought the two countries to the brink of war may be fairly attributed. In the cause of peace, no less than of industrial and social progress, the Colonial education of the people—not of the labouring classes alone—is indispensable. But while to all the knowledge thus imparted may be useful, to the labouring classes it is of vital importance.

I know there are some who hold the doctrine, that instead of increasing the interest displayed by our artisans in Colonial progress, and thereby encouraging them to emigrate to those countries where their services are in request, we should endeavour to keep them at home, by making the conditions of labour here more attractive than those afforded elsewhere. I perfectly agree with this doctrine, but how can we expect working-men to wait until such reforms are accomplished? With them, to wait very frequently signifies also to starve. The English working-man ought to be able to ascertain the best market for his labour, and to be enabled to take it thither. But if he does not possess the required information, what is he to do? If a country mason finds employment scarce in his own neighbourhood, he proceeds to one in which it is plentiful. Thus the labour supply becomes equalised, and any great disparity in the rates of wages prevented. Substitute the British Empire, with its numerous magnificent Colonies, for the limited area of the United Kingdom, and we have an almost unlimited field for the display of industrial energy and enterprise. I believe that the

wholesale emigration from the agricultural districts has done more than anything else to occasion the recent rise in the rate of wages paid to farm-labourers. It has frequently been stated by farmers in the midland counties, that so great has been the scarcity of labour at certain times, that but for the assistance afforded by machinery, they would have had to abandon agricultural operations. Consequently they are beginning to build better cottages for their labourers, to offer them better terms of employment, and otherwise improve their social and industrial position. But if we had possessed no Colonies, would this have been possible? Certainly not. Therefore I need not say another word in illustration of the economic advantages which a knowledge of those countries affords the labouring classes. The more that they know of Canada and Australia, and their practically unlimited resources, the less will they regard emigration as a kind of semi-transportation or exile for the benefit of others. True, the condition of those who remain will become improved; but so will that of those who go out, providing they are the right kind of people, which is not always the case. There cannot be a greater folly than to assume that an increased popular knowledge of the Colonies is not a matter of national importance. It is precisely the reverse. If England is to retain her industrial supremacy amongst the nations, she must not allow others to avail themselves of the advantages which she at present alone possesses, and which, if properly utilised, may do much to prevent her from becoming bowed down under the burden of the heavy mass of pauperism which at one time appalled even our firmest and most energetic statesmen. The interests of England and her Colonies are identical, but the more this fact is made clear to the inhabitants of both, the more that their course is guided by the light of practical knowledge, the less reason will there be for fearing a disruption of the links which bind so many English-speaking countries in one grand, powerful, and, let us fervently trust, long-enduring Empire.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. LLOYD JONES did not see that he could throw much light upon the subject so eloquently discussed by the paper drawn up. He had thought frequently over the question as a labour question between the Colonies and Great Britain, for it had been forced upon him by the complaints and alarms uttered by gentlemen interested in the manufacturing and commercial superiority of Great Britain. As we were so very much afraid of foreign coun-

tries taking our trade away from us, every man who had thought upon the subject had asked himself how, having supplied all the requirements of manufacture and commerce in England, the Colonies, which might be considered as the children of our own Empire—how they should take up our industries from the overflowing market of our skill, and how they should enrich the world in harmonious connection with the mother-country. There was one point which, he thought, had been overlooked. They had been told of the danger of competition with America, Germany, France, and Belgium—not only taking possession of the markets of the world, but coming here with their productions, and underselling English manufacturers. It had always struck him that no real danger of the kind existed. But, when he read of the continued stream of emigration decreasing in Ireland and Scotland, but increasing in England, and when he knew that skilled industry was always on the increase in England in comparison with unskilled industry—when he read in the Government returns of the enormous increase of English emigration—then he saw the danger that English skill on foreign commercial battle-fields would have to contend with, and that there was a real danger to be apprehended from that condition of things. (Hear, hear.) If then, by any means at their disposal, they could bring such instructions as the writer spoke about before the minds of those whose industry enriched the world—the working people; if the people in the Colonies could show what their natural resources were, and how they might be developed by adding the overflow of our skilled workers in connection with their natural productions; and if in that way the Colonies could be enriched, and England maintain her commercial superiority, they would have done a great work, both for the Colonies and for England. Meantime, the great outflow was to America. It was known that in the earlier part of the present great emigration mania a large proportion of our emigration was to the North American Colonies, not to the United States of America; that gradually there had been a growth of emigration, and the United States of America had monopolised nearly the whole. The great growth of emigration had been to America, and it was of English industry. They were not native Americans who manufactured the iron and steel, and who filled the manufactories of America; but they were English workers, who found the state of work in England not suitable to them, and who went there to exercise the industry that would become a danger ultimately to this country. If, then, our Colonies were better than the United States, and if we put our industry in connection with that of the Colonies, what excuse could

be offered for the ignorance of the working people? Let them not imagine that the working people were so ignorant as was thought. There was a continual postal communication between the working people here and the Colonies. What was wanted was to teach the people who had not relatives in the Colonies. He believed that the colonists present represented Colonial interests, and he was told they were so enormously rich that they could buy up London to-morrow; and yet the writer of the paper talked of £5,000 a year as being the sum they should subscribe towards educating people in Colonial matters. Why, Professor Leone Levi spoke the other night of the millions of money owned by the railways alone. He (the speaker) saw the first train that started to carry passengers; he saw George Stephenson the day Huskisson was killed at the opening of the Liverpool line. Our commerce had wonderfully developed since then. The commerce of the Colonies even was of enormous value; and how could they sit there and talk—such rich men—about £5,000 a year, when millions were going away because they did not spend their money rightly? It was the working men who were making the wealth of the country. They were creating out of coal and stone pyramids of wealth. The working men of this country were great magicians, and, like Aladdin and his lamp, they touched and created, while the other men only stored. If they had great Colonies with millions of acreage, and undeveloped resources, let them go to work as they ought to do, and, depend upon it, the working men of the country would be prepared to aid them, and cease squabbling about nothing; and then they might do anything for the development of the resources of their Colonies and their own country, which had not as yet been half developed. (Cheers.)

Mr. MACDONALD, M.P., said that a remark urged by the writer of the paper commended itself much to his mind—which was, that they should diffuse a knowledge of the Colonies better than that obtained at present, if they wished to induce men to go there. If there was anyone present who visited the great American Exhibition at Philadelphia last year, they must have been struck with one portion of the Exhibition, although not within the great Exhibition-hall. He referred to the room known as the “Exhibits of Colorado and Kansas,” and those things shown there were the products of both of those States. There were quartz that contained gold, and ore abounding with silver. Wild animals were skilfully prepared, so that visitors might see them. There were the products of corn and wheat, and others, the products of that wonderful territory. What had been the result of that, and what was the

effect of that to anyone at the Exhibition? Why, there was one unanimous cry heard from the people, "Have you seen the Exhibition room, or house, of Colorado and Kansas?" "No." "Go and see it, by all means." Being well acquainted with those States, and having information from friends out there, he learnt that emigration—which located itself when the one was a territory and the other a state, in the year 1859—had now fallen off considerably; but the moment the exhibition was shown in the House a cry was raised, "Those are the homes for us." A new railway was opening up new territory; and many of his friends, who had located themselves in other parts of the United States, were starting out to carry their goods to that land of such wonderful products. In such a case they did not require a lecture to be delivered, nor a speech to be made over it. The products were arrayed around, and they attracted thousands and tens of thousands of people. He strongly urged the point of having correct information. There was nothing that could appeal to the senses of men more than the products of the Colonies well arrayed before them. He confessed that in his visits to the great American continent he had never paid any attention whatever to Canada, although, from the Pacific to the Atlantic, he was familiar with every State of the Union. He had no want of loyalty to Canada; but in passing up the lakes, from Detroit to the top of Lake Superior, he saw so much life and energy on the American side as compared with the Canadian side, he was attracted to the former in preference to the latter, and that gave a bias to his mind in all the visits he made. When he saw the products of Canada, shown in that Exhibition, he felt he had done himself a great injustice, and he made up his mind on his next visit to make a thorough examination of that great territory. He would go there now more willingly than he would have thought of doing a number of years ago. The products he had seen at the Exhibition had stimulated in him a desire to see the country. When he first went to the American continent he found among many Canadians a great indifference for the old country; but that feeling had passed away, and every Canadian he met with he found truly loyal to the great country we belong to. He remembered one night sitting on the deck of a steamer; a large knot of passengers were clustered around, and the question was whether the country they were going to was to become the United States of America; and what was the feeling of the Canadians on the question which arose nine or ten years since, among the Canadians and Americans, whether the latter would annex Canada, and that both should become one? The plucky band of Canadians said,

the time was not far distant when they would annex the United States of America. That was the feeling they entertained regarding the old country. He would say that a man who desired to go into a new country and a new world must go to meet every kind of difficulty. There was no kid-glove work there. The thousands of those that now hung round the large cities of the United States of America as criminals came from this class to a large extent. There was no happiness to be found at first sight; if anyone thinks to find happiness the first moment of his arrival he would be mistaken, and his journey was certain to end in misery. If he went out, he must do so to watch the opportunities of getting on, and then happiness was sure to follow. Standing one day on the banks of the Missouri River, at a place which was a straggling village on the west of the Missouri River, he saw a man working at stone-cutting. He asked him what he was when he went to the country at first; he said he was a farm-labourer. He was asked what he had been since; he stood up and said that he had been a blacksmith, and added that he had run a railway engine, had been a joiner and carpenter, had been a weaver; he had no work—was a stone-cutter then, and did not know what he should be next. (Laughter.) In November last he found that man a well-to-do farmer, with four hundred acres of land, and holding a position equal to any of the yeomen in England, because he was willing and determined to work and win, no matter what the game was. (Hear, hear.) Another side of the picture—of a man who would never win. Many years ago, returning home on the deck of a steamer, he saw a man as he was one day going forward from the stern to the fore of the vessel. He asked him why he was returning home? He was a coal-miner, he said, and did not like the country. He was asked what fault he had to find with it; whereupon he said, "One fault was, they got nothing but pork." He was asked if he always got pork in the old country. "Well, no," he said. He was asked how long he had been out, and what had he made; he replied that he had been out four months, and that he was taking home £40, after paying his passage. He was asked how much he had made all his life—he was then about thirty years old—and he said he never could make a shilling. And he (Mr. Macdonald) then said: "You are going home from a country in which, within four months, you made £40, and now you are going home to the misery you left." "No," he replied; "everything is so new and strange to me that I cannot get along there." That was the sort of man that should never leave this country; and that was the sort of man the Colonies

did not want. And the public mind, if it was to be instructed at all, must be taught that it was neither the kid-glove man nor the grumbler that was required there, but the man who was willing to work. And he declared, from what he had seen of the United States, and from what he knew from friends in Canada and Nova Scotia—where also he had many friends—that there were homes for millions of people if we are able to send them there, and that it would be better for this country and themselves, to make those Colonies more strongly attached than ever to us, and make our country still greater and more glorious. (Applause.)

Sir ROBERT TORRENS, K.C.M.G., observed that they had had a very interesting paper from Mr. Plummer, and he agreed with him in the main. There were one or two statements, however, which he should like to correct, and with which he could not agree. The first point that struck him, in the earlier part of the paper, was that he seemed to put it before them that colonists returning to this country found themselves depreciated, and not placed in the social or political status of citizens of the Empire, but rather in an inferior position; and he dwelt, as an illustration, upon the case of the Australian sculler. He could speak for himself, and of what he had seen and heard from those who had resided twenty or twenty-five years in the Colonies, who had not experienced anything of the kind. On the contrary, he hoped he should not be considered egotistic when he stated facts which occurred to himself, just to show what the feeling was in England. He landed in this country after twenty-two years' absence. He had never in his life been in Cambridge. He heard there was a vacancy, or possibly a man being wanted to represent that town. He went there, not knowing a soul in the place, and issued an address to the people, who had a meeting and elected him member for Cambridge. (Laughter.) That showed that a man did not cease to be a British citizen when he went out to the Colonies. He came home, and was received with the most ready welcome, and just as freely as though he had lived those twenty-five years in this country. With regard to the Australian sculler, he proved himself the best man; fair play was shown to him, and this Institute came forward and showed its appreciation of their fellow-colonist by giving him a handsome present. They were proud of him as a British subject, coming here and whopping the Londoner; and he believed England was proud of him also. The great question, after all, was: What were the great attractions of the Colonies to this country; and what were the great advantages that Englishmen, especially the working classes, derived from the establishment of the Colonies? No one would

deny that it was impossible for this country to support its present population upon the products of the country alone. England was the workshop of the world, and exchanged articles manufactured by the great skill of her citizens for the raw produce for the manufacturer and the food to maintain the people. The country could not live without its Colonies. What effect was produced in the country by the founding of Colonies? In the first place, there was an additional supply of raw material for our manufacturers, which reduced materially the cost of every manufacture in this country. They received an abundance of wool from Australia, and of cotton from another of the British Colonies; and to the extent of those supplies the manufacture of those articles was facilitated in this country. Another point was, that by founding a Colony they created a market for the produce of this country. He looked at the Colony in which he lived for so many years, and, when he saw that for every man, woman, and child in that country there was an export of staple produce amounting to £20 per head—when he considered that that population consumed rather over £8 per head of the English manufactures, then he thought it would be pretty clear that if they sent there a dozen families of English people, who scarcely consumed anything appreciable of British manufactures in their own country, but when sent out to the Colonies every one of them consumed those manufactures at the rate of £8 per head, this enabled this country to support a larger population; for every dozen people we send out would enable one person in this country to live better than he ever could before. He thought that was one of the great advantages experienced by this country. What was the result to the emigrants? The first service he rendered to that cause was the selection of emigrants in Ireland in 1839, and the sending out of three ship-loads. No greater delight had he known than that which he experienced when riding through the country to which he sent those people, and finding the Irishmen—many of them not speaking English, while the majority could not read or write—finding those people settled, every man on his own homestead, cultivating the land of which he was proprietor. He declared that no greater charity could be done than that of promoting emigration of industrial and agricultural labourers to the Colonies. He cited the case of a labourer in Devonshire and Dorsetshire endeavouring to bring up a family on ten or twelve shillings a week, on which to feed a man, his wife, and three or four children, and clothe them and educate them. How it was done he could not make out. He could not himself find the heart to employ men at such wages; but it was a fact. They took that poor

creature from that pitiable condition, and placed him in a country where he would always secure for a good day's work a fair day's pay. About a year ago, he sent out the two sons of a village blacksmith to South Australia, and they were earning three guineas a week each. That was the advantage to the working classes, that they were taken out of that comparative misery and wretchedness which the agricultural labourers in this country were placed in, and found in the Colonies a home and a position of independence. (Hear, hear.) He agreed with every word spoken by Mr. Macdonald and others, that it was not every man who was fit to be an emigrant. No greater mistake could possibly be made than for clerks who had been accustomed to work behind counters, and that class of people, to go out to the Colonies. They were a perfect drug. There were exceptions, of course. There were men of energy and physique, and who had great powers of endurance; and it required great energy and perseverance for men not accustomed to labour, to take the plough and do hard work. Before the muscle got developed, and the hand hardened, it required a deal of courage to go through that. The first ploughman or bullock-driver he ever employed had been a silk-weaver. He was a first-rate driver; but he was one of those energetic fellows occasionally met with that would not be put down, who, when his own trade failed, was ready to go in for another. Those were the people to send out, and with them mechanics, miners, stone-cutters, and persons employed in the building trade. It was a mistake for intellectual labourers to seek their fortunes in these new countries. But this country had to spare annually many thousands of stalwart English people growing up, who, if they did not emigrate, would be competing one against another, and driving those useful organisations, the Trades Unions, to resort, for their protection, to rules which had the effect of diminishing the productive efficiency of human labour. Better by far avoid strikes or lock-outs, and keeping people out of the accumulated funds of Trades Unions, and spend the money in emigration. (Hear, hear.) Send them out of the country, and diminish that competition which reduces the position of the working man below that which a civilised working man's ought to be. By that means they would increase their independence and develop the English markets. He believe he embodied the sentiments of everybody present, when he said he trusted it would long be the case that England would continue to send out her sons and daughters to replenish the earth, and render it productive and a source of happiness to all; that we should have a "United Empire," and that there should be no social distinctions,

as there were none now existing, between the colonist and the Englishman. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. APPLGARTH remarked that he thought at a meeting like that their time was not profitably occupied in their stating one after the other that the Colonies were desirable places for English working men to go to. He thought they might take it for granted that there was some advantage for working men to go to any new country when they were crowded up at home. But one thing worthy of remark was the means by which they were to convince the working people that there were other countries more desirable for them to live in than their own. It was, after all, a question of education. In attempts to instruct working men great mistakes were made, and he rather feared that a mistake was about to be made now. Some attempts had been made to establish a museum in which to illustrate what could be done in the Colonies, but to make it useful to working men they must put it where working men could get to see it. After a man had done a hard day's work, he was not disposed to add to the fatigue of the day by journeying to a long distance to a museum, however interesting. In such an event the institution would be of little use to him. There were great mistakes made also, as Mr. Plummer had said, in the writings on the Colonies. If, as Mr. Plummer showed, a work was written so that the working man could not read it, there was very little instruction to be got from it. So with the museum, if it was placed where the men could not get at it, it would be useless. (Hear, hear.) With regard to what working men were called upon to do when they got into new countries. If they knew something of hard labour in this country, he could not think there would arise the difficulties which Sir R. Torrens and Mr. Macdonald pointed out on their arrival in other countries. With regard to what Mr. Macdonald called the kid-glove people, there was one element which both those speakers had left out. He had known what it was as an English working boy to have to tighten his apron around him on a Saturday as a substitute for a Saturday's dinner! There were hundreds of working-men in that position, especially those alluded to by Sir R. Torrens who had twelve shillings a week. Whether a man had worn kid gloves or not, if he was willing to do any kind of work it mattered not what his position might be, whether a counter-skipper or clerk—he must be a poor man if sufficient work could not be got out of him where work was plentiful. Anyhow, he could get good food, which stimulated him to do a hard day's work, and it was not, therefore, wise to discourage that class from going to the Colonies. He rather thought that nine out of ten would be better off there

than the hard-working man was at home. It was of course the skilled artisans who were making the Colonies what they were. But those men could find employment at home, and he did not think it would do the Colonies any harm at all if they could turn silk-weavers or counter-skippers into bullock-drivers, provided they were given a good beefsteak for dinner.

Mr. DAVENPORT (South Australia) said he appeared there on the same footing as his friend Sir Robert Torrens, as one of the colonists of South Australia. He thanked Mr. Plummer for many of the sentiments of such force and truth as were contained in the paper read, as demonstrating the state of things existing between the Colonies and the mother-country; and also as indicating some means by which the relationships between the parties may be made more distinct, more ample, and more to the interests which were declared identical as between Great Britain and her Colonies. It was more to the interest of Great Britain to take up her Colonies, than at the present time for the Colonies to embrace more closely Great Britain. In the Colonies they had plenty to eat and drink, and were free from enemies to disturb them. They had nothing to do but to carry out their daily labour, they could enjoy happy lives, and they need not on that account require any material change. In the Australian Colonies there existed a great sense of attachment and loyalty to the Crown and institutions of Great Britain. It was for her to be up and doing—a duty she owed to herself and her race, which she had planted so extensively on the surface of the globe. When he looked at the map, and saw how small was the area of Great Britain, how extensive was the Russian Empire, how great was the North American United States, which one hundred years ago separated from Great Britain; when he saw the large extent of the Dominion of Canada, Australia, India, Cape Colony, and other places, what did he recognise? That Great Britain, at the head of all those, was in some sense like the possessor of a very large estate, who had too much—he was merely reasoning in the abstract—taken up those special interests which were attached to the centre of the dominion, and was not developing the natural wealth of her Colonies in such a sense as she was able to do. Undoubtedly the Anglo-Saxon race, both in physical force and mental power and [moral excellencies, govern that portion of the earth which it occupies far more for the happiness of the human race, without making any unfriendly comparisons, than many other races of the people did. Was it not, therefore, to the interest of the world at large, and a duty to be considered by Great Britain herself, that the large dominions she possesses on the surface of

the earth should be occupied by her own people? The United States of America has 40,000,000 of inhabitants, who had occupations covering about one-fourth of the area of the country. If her present population were multiplied by four, that gave 160,000,000 of people, while Australia could accommodate about 200,000,000 of people. Should those people belong to our own race or not? because it was very certain that as wealth was produced by the first settlers in Australia, if they were unable to get the necessary labour, which they required for carrying on their industries as they were developed, they would go to other races of people to get their labour instead of looking for it from their own. Sir Robert Torrens said that where Great Britain founded a Colony she created a market. No statement had more truth in it. Statistics were better than observation, and he would take the returns at the end of 1875, which said that there were 50,000 male adults supporting three times their number—150,000 women and children. They were consuming imports, £20 a head, and of exports they were raising £24 a head. A great many of those people when they left this country were needy people; many had not stamina of mind or body, which it had been said was necessary to make a good colonist. It had been remarked that his mind made an Englishman work, and out there food was abundant, and men who lived here in a partially exhausted state of physical debility, by means of good food and climate out there very soon altered their capabilities. If 50,000 such men supported 150,000 persons—if that number were multiplied, the greatest results would be obtained, for it would be the case of very poor people from this country growing in prosperity, and becoming relatively happy and wealthy, and encouraging the manufactures of this country. Mr. Macdonald alluded to the Philadelphia Exhibition, which was suggested as the means for enabling the labouring classes of this country to become more familiar in their knowledge of the country referred to—Kansas and Colorado. He himself had seen the “house” which Colorado arranged at the Exhibition, and it was so full of interest that it was daily crowded, and difficult to pass in and out of. The Americans were astonished at the products generally of the Kansas State. There was wheat standing as high as any ever seen. There were grains also, and indeed the whole display was excellent, and no doubt the effect of the Exhibition upon the minds of those who never thought of emigration was great. The effect on his own mind was to produce the conclusion that we in this country, for the want of Exhibitions, were neglecting to educate people in a knowledge of the Colonies. As to the Australian Colonies in Phila-

delphia, for one of which he was acting as commissioner, he was surprised at the extent to which all classes of Americans were impressed and astonished at the character of the products, the variety of them, and the illustrations they were to their mind of the wealth of Australia. It was seen that Australia had all the accessories, and many of the luxuries, of life, many of the metals requisite to support the manufactures, including coal, iron, gold, silver, tin, nickel, bismuth, and many others; and in proof of the intelligence which the labouring classes, especially the mechanics, appeared to exhibit, the number of notes made and the regard shown, were very remarkable. That much impressed his mind with the importance of the people in this country having placed before them in a tangible form means by which they could learn what our Colonies were. (Applause.)

Mr. GEORGE HOWELL, on being called upon to speak, said he knew nothing about the question. He was not a colonist, had no experience, nor was he one of those millionaires spoken of by Mr. Lloyd Jones; neither had he any of those thousands of acres that persons occupied in the Colonies. He often wished he had half an acre of it at Charing Cross. (Laughter.) That would suit him very well. But he came there to-night to try and learn something on the subject, the little knowledge which he possessed having been acquired from those sad sources of information referred to by the writer—viz. the British Museum—which sources it was well known were very inaccurate. He believed that those who, like himself, only occasionally dabbled in the present matter, if they heard something tangible from those who had had great experience, as those who had spoken, that then they would be able to learn something and say something in its favour when they went amongst those who had as little knowledge of the subject as he and many like him only had. (Hear, hear.)

Colonel G. T. DENISON said he hardly ever came to the meetings but it fell to his lot to speak for Canada. It must be that the Canadians were people who thought so much of their country that they always stayed at home and never ventured out, for he hardly ever met a fellow-colonist here. With many portions of the paper read he sympathised very deeply. He knew nothing more unpleasant to a native-born colonist coming home to the mother-country than to find the immense amount of ignorance that was displayed by most people in reference to the affairs of his own country. A person brought up in a colony naturally thinks a great deal of his own country, is very proud of it, and wonders why others do not know as much about it as himself. When he finds the most extra-

ordinary ideas prevailing about his country, he does not altogether like it. He had heard a great many Canadians who had been to England return to Canada much dissatisfied at the want of knowledge in this country about Canadian affairs, but when the question was really considered he was inclined to make great allowances for the ignorance of people at the heart of the Empire. People in England have so many great interests to take up their time ; their interests were not confined to Canada, because they were governing other Colonies of a great empire. Naturally enough, also, it was impossible for individual Colonies to have an accurate knowledge of the other Colonies in all parts of the world. It was impossible for them to be acquainted with the details of each particular Colony ; it was impossible for them even to understand the general principles of the geography of the different Colonies. He had often said to them, " Why blame the English for their ignorance ; what do we know about Australia ? " Naturally enough, they in Canada paid great attention to everything done in England ; their papers copy the news from England ; they follow the proceedings in the Houses of Parliament, and everything done here had an interest for them ; and he had no doubt the same feeling existed in Australia. But he would ask how often they, in return, took an equal interest in Canada ? How many of them in Australia knew the name of the Premier in Canada ? and he was sure he knew not the name of any Premier in their Colonies. (Laughter.) When colonists came to think about it, and were a little liberal in their views, they would in such things make great allowances. The paper, among other things, alluded to the false representation of the dress-circle and private boxes in the leading theatre in Melbourne. Now in Canada the thing that annoyed them the most was the false idea of its climate. From the time the King of France said he had handed over to the British Government a few acres of snow, the idea had got abroad that the people in Canada had for at least nine months in the year nothing but a hard winter, and the remainder of the year was very late in the fall. He was not surprised at the English people having false ideas about that. But they were really very false ones with reference to the climate, which for the greater portion of the year was magnificent, and he thought they had got about as good a winter as he had seen this year in England. He had been a great portion of the year in St. Petersburg ; but he did not know what a cold winter was until he got there, which he believed was the coldest place in the world, unless there were any gentlemen present who were in the Arctic Expedition that could give better information. With respect to the ideas about the

Canadian winter, for years and years back it had been the custom of officers of the army and tourists in coming to Canada to send home portraits of themselves, taken in winter garments such as thick furs. (Laughter.) He had no doubt that those in that room had seen those pretty pictures of people dressed up in great fur coats, with a backing of snow all round them, and probably at the same time standing erect on a pair of skates, with ice underneath. (Great laughter.) Now he understood all about how these pictures are drawn. They were taken throughout the year, and could be taken as readily in the summer as the winter. The ice was a piece of plate glass, the snow was salt, the furs were kept by the photographer, and anybody who went in could have his likeness taken in them. (Laughter.) These pictures were sent home in thousands by officers and other tourists who had arrived in the country, but many of whom had never worn a fur coat before in their lives. He was told there were a number of pictures exhibited in different parts of England with Prince Arthur in buffalo robes in the snow, and he had been assured that those pictures were all taken in the summer-time in Ottawa. Such things, however, gave very false notions of a country; for, although there were two or three months of winter, yet it was a good bracing winter, and the climate made people feel strong, hearty, and vigorous, and was building up a fine race of people on that continent. In St. Petersburg he never saw such a climate before. He saw a large city of some 700,000 population, a magnificent city, and the capital of a great empire where the climate was excessively severe. It was a proud thing for him to see, because he knew that in a climate equally good they had two millions and a half of square miles of land capable of bearing grain. In Canada it was computed that, if the country was all populated, they could support a population of four hundred million people. That was what learned men who had gone into the question said; and he thought there was a splendid future for Canada. He was pleased to hear the remarks of Mr. Macdonald about the Canadian people, and it was to be regretted that he (Mr. Macdonald) had not travelled through Canada, because, if he had, he would have found there a province that would compete for enterprise and prosperity with any State in the American Union. It was, he believed, an absolute fact that in Ontario they had more horses per head of the population and more sheep per head of the population, that they grew more grain for every acre cultivated, and that in all those things which showed the prosperity of a country they were better off than in any State of the American Union. Of course, it was very natural for a person going from Buffalo to Detroit to

notice the great cities on the American side, but that was caused by the produce coming down to take the water in one case, and leaving the water to take the canal on down to New York in the other. But the Canadian cities which he had not seen, St. Catherine's, Hamilton, London, Kingston, Montreal, Quebec, and many others, were as fine cities as could be found on the American side of the frontier, and would compare with anything opposite to them for size or prosperity. He was glad to find that the Royal Colonial Institute had taken up this question of the Colonies and the labouring classes, for it was the labouring classes that were required in the Colonies. They were always found to be the best when they went out, and they always made the best settlers, and were the people that England had the most of to spare. If Canada could receive a steady influx of English labourers, agricultural labourers, and skilled artisans, they would do well. Of course it was easily understood that they did not want skilled artisans sent over too rapidly, because it would not do in a new country to have too many skilled artisans at once; but if there was a steady influx into the country he had no doubt they would all do well. He thought all had done well in the past out there. In Ontario you could go for hundreds of miles, where as far as you could see on each side there were farms owned by people originally of the labouring classes of England. He thought it was a grand thing for English people to be able to emigrate where they could have a kindred people living under the same institutions that they had in England, and where they had a Governor-General over them, and had not the trouble to go over the same ground every few years to get a President, as they had in the United States at the present time. That was a matter that should cause the labouring classes to go to Canada in preference to the United States of America. He was sure that if Mr. Macdonald had looked into the matter he would be of opinion that the people who expressed annexation sentiments were not the native-born Canadians, but new-comers. They had some who went out about the time of the Chartist difficulty in England; a great many of them were, no doubt, sensible people, and after being out there some time became well-to-do and prosperous, and lost their annexation ideas. He thanked them very much for their kind attention, and was glad they were occupying themselves with these Colonial questions. If there was anything which made him feel angry it was when people began to talk about a person like himself, who was a Canadian, as if he were an American. He always in reply said, "Yes, I am an American—a Canadian; but I am not a Yankee." He might inci-

dentally mention that their present Premier, who ruled the destinies of Canada, the second largest country in the world, was formerly a member of the labouring classes. He went out as a stonemason from Scotland, was an intimate friend of his, and was as good a Premier as they had ever had. (Cheers.)

Mr. GEORGE POTTER said they all admitted the importance of the question which had been raised. He pleaded guilty to being a great supporter of emigration from this country; and for many years he had done all he could to encourage voluntary emigration. When Sir George Grey was over here from New Zealand, he went with him and Mr. Edward Jenkins, M.P., through the provinces, for the purpose of trying to bring before the labouring people of this country the value of emigration to our Colonies. He believed through those meetings tens of thousands of our working people went to the Colonies, and he believed that they had been satisfied with the result. He felt sure the question of emigration was not fully understood. Some of the working people were very sceptical. They thought that if emigration were so good some of the upper classes ought to emigrate. Other of the working people said, if the upper classes would set them an example, they would follow; but the upper classes had no reason to emigrate—our working people had. Much good might be done if this Institute would organise a series of meetings, whereby the value of emigration could be brought before the working people of this country. A large number would, no doubt, be induced to go to our Colonies. The area of our land was limited. There were only 78 millions of acres, whilst New South Wales alone had over 800 millions of acres. We had 82 millions of population to live on our 78 millions of acres, whereas they in New South Wales only had about 600,000 people to live on their 800 million acres. The value of emigration had never been fairly put forward. There had been too much special pleading about it. The Canada man said his was the country; the New Zealand man said his was the place to go to. What was wanted was to tell the English artisan and labourer that there was improvement for him and his family by leaving this country, which had become to a considerable degree cramped up. It was well known that this country could not provide labour for those who wanted work. Now, the true system of political economy was to find employment for every man who desired to labour, and to give work to every man who had a family to maintain. This country could never do that. Everybody knew the manipulative power of the country had so increased by the continual invention of machinery, that we should never again be able to find employ-

ment for the millions of workers which the country contained. He spoke from a practical experience of fifteen years among artisans. He knew he had stated a fact, and, as wise men, they ought to devise a system of voluntary emigration whereby this country should be relieved from the pauperism, the wretchedness, and the degradation which abounds amongst our labourers. The Royal Colonial Institute could devise the means for giving a series of meetings, and publishing special articles in papers that circulate among the people. He told them plainly that, unless there were some remedial measures provided, there would be serious consequences. If they looked at all the great centres of industry, the people were not half employed, and those that did work were not fairly paid; consequently, we increased not only in wealth, but also in wretchedness, poverty, and degradation. As patriots, they ought to talk reasonably on these things, and encourage voluntary emigration. Tillers of the soil were willing to go, and so were skilled artisans; but they had not the means. There ought to be some kind of cheap intermediate passages between our country and the Colonies. Free emigration had been tried, and had paid. Cheap passages ought to be provided where a family wanted to go out. They need not puff up the Colonies; they speak for themselves. If England was to be the wide-spreading country, and the centre of commerce, as we all desired she should be, a good system of emigration ought to be provided. That Institute could do it. They were there that night to try and further it; and, although he had met with great abuse amongst his own men because he had encouraged voluntary emigration, he did not regret it. Let them send our workers out to cultivate the soil, and let these send back to us that which the soil produces, we sending back manufactured articles, thus enriching each other. He would advise them and their colleagues to immediately commence a series of meetings, which would put the emigration question fairly before the people of this country, encouraging them to go, and he was sure that we should reap the benefit, and they would receive the blessings. (Cheers.)

Mr. Bonwick (Victoria) observed that a practical question had to be solved. They were all agreed that it was uncommonly good that some folks should go out to the Colonies, and the Colonies would be all the better for their going; but what was wanted was to see how to get the people to go. One great difficulty with emigration agents was that those who were being addressed sometimes said, "How much does he get for sending us out?" The man who appealed to the working classes, particularly agricultural labourers, occasionally found they had been told by their employers, for interested reasons,

that they who persuaded them to go out got so much, say twenty shillings, for every one they sent out. Then, again, each Colony paraded its own excellencies, perhaps indirectly depreciating one another. If an organisation were instituted—and under no better auspices could that be done than that of the Royal Colonial Institute, apart from all those agencies—it could come forward to the people and say, “We are bound to no one Colony, but are anxious for your good and that of all the Colonies; and we say to you, ‘Here is what *this* Colony can say for itself, and here is what *that* Colony can say for itself. *Here* is the Colony wanting such a class of people, and *there* another.’” The Colonies were as varied as they could well be. To talk about it being unsafe and absurd for a man to go out to the Colonies who does not understand hard work, was an argument he could not understand. They could point to their Colonial public libraries, and say that there were none superior in the British Empire; they could point to their Colonial museums, and say there were not the like of them in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. They had their technological museums, of which they were proud. And yet it was said that only a man with a hard fist could go out to the Colonies. They could employ, and did employ, intellect. A large class had been lost sight of; and he had often been appealed to by members of that class. A man would say to him, “Oh, you would send farm labourers out, because they can plough; and you will send a man out because he can lay bricks or drive a plane; what are you going to do for me? I don’t plough, I don’t lay bricks, I am not much of a hand at a plane.” “Oh, you cannot be taken,” would be the answer. Now, his experience in the old convict days was that good servants and tradesmen were made out of those who had never been taught to work in the old country. They had a very large class in London finding a great difficulty to get bread, who had an amount of common sense and energy which, if directed in a new Colony, would soon find its proper place. A man there would speedily find his own living, and he would bless the Colony, while he blessed himself. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ROBINSON (member of the Legislative Council of Natal) felt some difficulty in speaking upon the question, because, first, he represented a Colony which, being overrun by a large native population, did not at present offer a large field for emigration to what were called the working classes; and, secondly, because the subject had been exhaustively treated in the paper that had been read, and so ably dealt with in the forcible speeches that had followed. He fully recognised the lack of accurate and adequate information regarding the Colonies that prevailed in this country,

but he almost despaired of removing the comparative ignorance that existed. Only three hours ago he had been asked by a well-educated and intelligent young member of the press in what part of the Cape Colony the port of Natal was to be found, and he had no doubt that a like question might in all innocence be put by eight-tenths of the ladies and gentlemen around him. Nothing was more difficult than to convey accurate impressions of places not seen or visited. He had himself never yet found a locality to correspond with the ideas he had previously formed concerning it, and he by no means found fault with his countrymen at home for not knowing more than they did of distant lands with which they might have no direct or indirect relations. Moreover, there was an invariable tendency on the part of the intending outgoer to maximise the advantages, and to minimise the drawbacks, attendant upon life in a new land. People formed their own conceptions and views, and would abide by them until the grim disenchantments of bitter experience dispelled their illusions. It was hard to see how this disposition was to be overcome. He did not believe in any cut-and-dried patent process of popularising the Colonies. Popularity too often meant notoriety, and notoriety was not always secured by the most attractive means. Some Colonies might get it by the fame of a heterodox bishop; or by a native war, which kept its name in the papers day by day for months or years; or by being the centre of activity to rebel chiefs with unpronounceable names—(a laugh)—or by the “atrocities,” falsely so-called, with which colonists engaged in the patriotic work of quelling rebellion might be charged, thus exciting against them the righteous indignation of home philanthropists. But these were forms of notoriety which no right-minded colonist would desire to court or to experience. All he could suggest would be that every one, and every institution, should do what could be done to make Colonial matters better understood. That Institute should not only be vigorously conducted, as it was, but well supported by both colonists and home people. Papers devoted to Colonial interests should be encouraged, widely circulated, and supplied with accurate information. Colonial agents should not only be active, but accurate in diffusing knowledge of their respective countries. Colonists abroad should be zealous in sending to their friends frequent and full information upon Colonial topics, and those friends should be on their side industrious in making known such statements. By such varied, though voluntary and natural means, the end they had in view might be attained. But he would especially urge the importance of fair, impartial, and truthful representations. He

could scarcely conceive a more terrible responsibility than would rest upon the man who might wilfully and recklessly be the means of causing a citizen to have to break up what might be a happy, though a humble home, to sacrifice his home prospects, and to embark upon the new experiences of Colonial life by exaggerated descriptions and untruthful statements. (Hear, hear.) At the same time, although life in a Colony was, especially at the outset, beset by hardship, toil, and disappointment, he believed that to any man who was prepared to make the best of things—to take matters as he might find them, to turn his hand to any work that might offer, to be contented, frugal, and sober; in a word, to face the future with the true British determination not to be beaten—a Colonial career would not leave cause for regret. When a working man was fairly settled down, and in full employment, his life might have many new advantages. He might employ a Kaffir to make his fires and nurse his children; he might (though this was a rare thing) ride to his work on his own pony; he might live in a cottage of his own, with a bit of ground in which he could cultivate fruit and vegetables for his own consumption; he might, in time, so advance in the estimation of his fellow-colonists as to rise to positions of important public trust and usefulness. His children would probably rise in the social scale, be very likely better educated than their parents, and thus possess a higher capacity of citizenship. These were possibilities not always realised, he knew, but yet very often experienced as the reward of patience, sobriety, and perseverance. He thought, therefore, that he was justified in expressing his conviction—one based upon twenty-six years' residence in a Colony—that every man who emigrated in this temper, and who met with the success which such qualities were best fitted to secure, added not only to the trade, the wealth, the industry, and the greatness of the British Empire, but added also, in a distinct degree, to the social elevation, intellectual development, and political influence of the British people; and added, further and finally, he did not hesitate to say, to that great and common sentiment of loyalty which linked that people to the British Crown. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN, the Right Hon. Lord Carlingford, Vice-President, said: I am sure you will enable me easily to perform the pleasing task of moving a vote of thanks to the gentleman whose paper has been read to-night. Not only has that paper been of an able character, and interesting too, but, I am bound to add, admirably read by Mr. Young. I may congratulate Mr. Plummer and the Royal Colonial Institute upon the excellent discussion which that paper has produced. Although I have not had much experience in

the meetings of this Institute, of which I have the honour to be Vice-president, it strikes me that that discussion was of a thoroughly sound and instructive character, full of reality, life, and variety. (Hear, hear.) We had the views of gentlemen well-fitted and entitled to speak from both sides, one may say, of the question. We have heard the opinions, so well expressed, of important exponents of popular opinion in this country, such as Mr. Macdonald, Mr. George Potter, Mr. Applegarth, and others; and, on the other hand, we have heard the experiences given to us in the most interesting way of those who were entitled to speak for the Colonies, such as Sir Robert Torrens, Colonel Denison, Mr. Davenport, and others; and I think you will agree with me that we could not have well listened to a more encouraging or useful discussion. Well, the moral, as it seems to me, of the discussion, setting aside many important collateral points, is twofold. What we have to derive from it is the conviction impressed upon our minds, first, of the ignorance upon Colonial subjects of our uneducated classes; and in the next place the ignorance of our educated classes. I am glad the last has not been left out; on the contrary, I think it has been brought home to us with goodwill by several speakers. For the practical purposes of emigration the first of these two morals is the important one, and I think we shall all carry away this evening the conviction that a good deal is wanted to be done in that branch of education among our artisans and working people. Many suggestions have been thrown out to the meeting, which appear to me, all of them, in their measure, to be good. Mr. Potter suggested public meetings, Mr. Macdonald suggested exhibitions, and the bringing home to the eyes of the working classes what the Colonies are and what they can do. Of course, there is the ordinary education of the country, the Board and other schools, in which, certainly, this matter of a better knowledge of the great British Empire, of which we are all citizens, ought to be more attended to than I believe it is. (Hear, hear.) So wide and varied is that great Empire, that it forms a large lesson in geography by itself; and this is a fact not to be forgotten. I think Mr. William Forster dwelt upon this topic about a year ago in an admirable address which he made upon the whole Colonial question in Edinburgh, and dwelt with great force upon it. It certainly is a subject which ought not to be forgotten, and I hope will not be forgotten, by those who have the education of the working classes of this country, and their welfare, at heart. (Hear, hear.) One reason that strikes me why attention to this particular matter is needed is this—and the point has been alluded to, I think, once

or twice to-night—viz. that the kind of emigration that we can expect, or even need wish, at this time of day from this country, is one, although of great importance, yet of a limited kind. It is not a great rush of a whole people to the other side of the world. It is not one of those great movements which have taken place at different periods in the history of our own and other countries, the great movements of populations which have been caused sometimes by calamities, or misgovernment, by persecution in the seventeenth century, by Irish famines in our century—and I suppose by both social and material events in Germany—because that process is in itself by far the most efficient Colonial education that can be given. Of course nothing can equal that kind of education upon the subject of the country to which he thinks of emigrating, which an Irish peasant possesses through his friends and relatives who have gone before him. When once such a great process or movement as that has set in, the amount of knowledge which it produces, the amount of connection with the other countries, and the sympathies with those who stay behind to follow those gone before, is something that cannot be produced to the same extent by artificial means. But we have not got that process, and do not want it to that enormous extent; but that very fact—the fact of the limited, scattered, and local nature of our emigration—coming in where it is wanted, as we should wish it to do, meeting the wants of particular families and particular localities, and so on, makes it the more necessary, in the absence of that great natural process of teaching, that information should be supplied in the various ways referred to to-night. Well, as to the Colonial education of the educated classes, that, I entirely agree, is a thing not to be forgotten either. But I think there are some prospects of improvement. I am one of those who agree with Sydney Smith when he said a good many years ago, “We have too much Latin and Greek.” Although I am very fond of those languages, I think we may have too much of them. And I am inclined to doubt that the young gentlemen of the upper classes know enough of the history, and geography, and present condition of our great Colonial empire. I believe, however, there is a change taking place in that respect, and people are condescending to come down to the literature and facts of our own day, and are no longer content to confine their education to the literature of the ancient world. I hope the day will soon come when an Englishman, pretending to be a cultivated gentleman, will be ashamed of that ignorance with reference to our Empire which is too often the case at present. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. PLUMMER, in reply, thanked them for the encouraging manner in which the paper read by Mr. Young had been received. The whole character of the discussion, so far as he heard it, confirmed what he had repeatedly asserted, viz. that if the powers that be would more frequently consult the leaders of our great industrial organisations—the men who represent the large number of our toiling population, and who have the interest and welfare of the labouring classes at heart—he had not the slightest doubt that not only causes of social and moral discontent would be removed, but the social and industrial progress of the world become largely assisted. (Cheers.)

SIXTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Sixth Ordinary General Meeting was held at the "Pall Mall" on Tuesday, March 13th, 1877, His Grace the DUKE OF MANCHESTER, K.P., President, in the Chair.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG, Hon. Sec., read the minutes of the Fifth Ordinary General Meeting, which were confirmed.

The PRESIDENT then called upon G. J. SYMONS, Esq., Hon. Secretary of the Meteorological Society, to read the following paper on

THE CLIMATES OF THE VARIOUS BRITISH COLONIES.

WHEN a speaker begins with an apology it is usually found that no apology was needed. I will not, therefore, presume to apologise for the imperfections which appertain to the present paper, but I do ask two somewhat opposite favours. First, that you bear in mind the extreme difficulty of making the working and results of a strictly scientific subject comprehensible and interesting to those who have not previously given it their attention. That is the first request. The second is, that all those who detect, or think that they detect, errors or mistakes in what I say, will take notes of them, and call attention to them in the discussion which will follow my remarks. I do not ask this at all in the spirit of a champion, but merely in the interests of accuracy and progress, for which I care infinitely more than for my own status or for my own opinions.

We must consider first what is meant by the word "climatology." Nuttall defines it as "An account of the different modifications relative to heat, wind, moisture, and other meteorological phenomena, of the different regions of the earth." That is not bad for a dictionary, but we must go much further. And first as regards heat. Happily, throughout the British Empire, and also throughout the United States, there is no confusion as to thermometric scales. We all use the ordinary English or Fahrenheit's scale, (although, by the by, Fahrenheit, as the name at once tells us, was not an Englishman but a German). Two other points are necessary as regards temperature: (1) That the thermometers be everywhere similarly mounted, and (2) that they be read at the same hours of local time. As regards the first point, when I state that figs. 1 and 2 show the arrangements adopted at the Royal Observa-

tory, Greenwich, and at the Kew Observatory of the Royal Society, it will be evident to everyone that there is scarcely anything in common to the two modes of exposure. With such an utterly discordant practice at home, we can hardly condemn with severity the fact that at many Colonial stations even more discordant methods prevail. The Meteorological Society has, however, decided that for all its stations absolutely similar instruments in absolutely similar conditions shall be used, and I have here a specimen of the stand adopted by the Society. It contains four thermometers: a maximum to show the highest temperature in the shade, a minimum to show the lowest, a dry bulb to show at any time the true temperature of the air, and another thermometer with the bulb covered with moist muslin; the difference between the temperature shown by this and by the dry thermometer indicates the amount of moisture in the air. Although I am by no means certain that this is the best arrangement possible, and although I do not suppose that it is adapted for every climate, I am sure of this, that its establishment at all our Colonial observatories would be one great step in advance, because it would give uniformity of observation, and without uniformity comparisons are terribly misleading. Dr. Neumayer, who was for some years in charge of the Flagstaff Observatory, Melbourne, says, in the introduction to one of his excellent volumes, that the thermometer stand is "similar to that constructed by Lawson, save that it is placed upon a platform about five feet high, whereby the bulb of the thermometer is raised nearly ten feet from the ground; a precaution very much to be recommended in a country like this, where the soil assumes so high a temperature." I cannot understand this argument. It has been urged that what we require to know is the temperature of the layer of air which passes into people's lungs; hence we in England always put our thermometers between four and five feet above the soil. Dr. Neumayer says that a thermometer at that height is affected by the radiation of heat from the hot ground. Probably: but so are the bodies of the colonists; so, to a less extent, is the air they breathe. By placing his thermometers at ten feet above the ground Dr. Neumayer undoubtedly obtained lower temperatures during hot periods than that of the air breathed by the inhabitants. Mr. Todd, of Adelaide, whose name is familiar to all the members of this Institute, as that of the successful director of the great central Australian telegraph, recognises this difficulty, in the article contributed by him to Marcus's Handbook of South Australia, and other directors of Colonial observatories have written to the same effect; but nothing has been done towards securing the precise

similarity of the conditions under which the instruments are placed. Moreover, it is a singular fact, that amongst all the papers, books, and reports issued by the various Colonial Governments, which I have seen, there is not one which gives any engraving of the mounting of the instruments, or plan of the place where the observations are made.

The other point in respect of which uniformity of method is necessary is the time of observation. It neither requires a moment's thought nor a diagram to tell anyone that it is usually hotter at mid-day than at midnight. Yet through this self-evident fact a large amount of confusion has arisen. I do not like taking up your time with what appear trivial details, and therefore before plunging into this subject I should like to justify myself by saying that as the aggregate sum expended upon Meteorology in India and the British Colonies is probably considerably more than £20,000 per annum, the expenditure of the money to the best effect is not altogether unworthy of consideration ; and moreover, that I believe that meteorological observations conducted upon strictly uniform methods would lead to results far exceeding, even in money value, the cost of the instruments, and brains necessary to obtain them. One more digression is suggested by the last remark. How is it to be accounted for that individuals and Governments are always more willing to pay for instruments than for brains ? They will buy costly instruments, and by keeping down the number and salary of the observers, prevent the full value being got even out of the instruments they have bought.

In Fig. 4 the vertical lines represent hours, the horizontal ones degrees of temperature, the central thick horizontal line the average temperature, the wavy line the temperature at different hours of an average June day in England—the dark part night, the white part day. Starting from midnight, it will be seen that the temperature falls until about 4 a.m., or half an hour after sunrise ; it then rises rapidly, becomes hottest about 2 p.m., and then falls till sunrise next day. The lowest point is called the minimum, the highest is called the maximum, and the difference between the two the “ daily range.” Thus far all is easy and obvious. I now come to a point in which I believe there are few Colonial Observatory directors who have not done wrong, by trying to do too well. I do not hesitate to mention this and other adverse facts, because if I am wrong I can easily be corrected, and if I am right all who care more for science than for their own personal dignity will thank me for performing a generally thankless office. For the criticism of others I do not care one iota.

It is not of much use to know the highest temperature reached each day if we do not also know the lowest, and as it happens that half way between the two is nearly the true mean temperature, it has become usual to indicate the temperature of different localities by their mean temperature. Unfortunately, there are several ways of ascertaining mean temperature : (1) The arithmetical mean of the two extremes. As these extremes can be obtained by reading the max. and min. thermometer once daily, this is a very easy and simple method. (2) By reading the thermometer every hour, and taking the average of the twenty-four readings as the mean of the day. (3) By reading the thermometer two or more times a day and applying corrections for the supposed difference due to those being hotter or colder than the average of the twenty-four. The second plan is undoubtedly the best, but it is too troublesome for general adoption. The third plan is only available where the second has previously been carried on for a long time in order to ascertain what the corrections are.

The essential feature in the comparison of different localities being, as I have said, that it must be with similar data, similarly observed and similarly reduced, it is greatly to be regretted that there is no uniformity in the systems adopted in the various Colonies ; and worse still, I find that in some of them (Canada for instance) various plans are adopted, some at some stations, others at others.

If the Directors of the various Colonial observatories cannot agree to universally adopt one system (which I think they ought to be required to do), it is at least desirable that all their publications should give the mean obtained by the first-mentioned method. That it is not perfect I freely admit, but as long as we rely upon the arithmetical mean of observed facts, and state precisely how the figures are obtained, we shall be providing ourselves with something definite, and our successors will have no difficulty in getting at the absolute truth from our approximations. I am glad to say that for several Colonies this method is adopted, for instance in New South Wales, New Zealand, &c.

I do not like pointing out an evil without suggesting a remedy. In the present instance I offer two suggestions : (1) that the attention of the Governments of the various Colonies be called to the fact, that there are scarcely any two of which the official records of the meteorology are strictly comparable, and that they be urged to arrange for a conference of the whole of the Directors, with instructions for them to discuss the method best adapted for universal adoption, and to bind themselves uniformly, universally,

and rigidly to carry out the method recommended by the majority. The votes at the conference to be weighed proportionally to the number and equipment of the stations under the direction of each member of the congress. (2) Failing this, which would be the proper course, useful information might be obtained by stipulating that at every principal observatory a Stevenson's screen with the four usual thermometers be erected, and that the instruments be read at 9 a.m. and 9 p.m. daily, and the observations printed *in extenso*, with no corrections except for instrumental error. This would not cost £10 per station, even if freight be added to the cost of the apparatus.

There are many other points of divergent practice, which render it impossible to compare accurately the records from the various Colonies, but as they are of less importance than those already named I will only mention one as an illustration. It is well known that on a clear night, a grassplot cools down by radiation much more than does the air four feet above it. This radiation minimum is of great importance in connection with vegetation, especially as regards vines. In England we (whether wisely or not is very doubtful) measure this radiation by laying a thermometer on grass; some of the Colonies follow our example, but at Adelaide it is laid upon raw wool, at Melbourne the thermometer is placed in the focus of a reflector, and so on.

In the year 1878, at the request of a member of our Council, Mr. S. W. Silver, I undertook the organisation of a series of synchronous meteorological tables from as many as possible of the British Colonies. The directors of the Colonial observatories, with very few exceptions, agreed to furnish the necessary returns without any charge; they have since January, 1874, been tabulated under my supervision and published monthly in *The Colonies*. Although these records are affected by the causes for whose removal I have pleaded, it is impossible to deny that these monthly tables give a better survey of the climate of the British Empire than any others yet published; thanks are therefore undoubtedly due to the proprietors of *The Colonies*, for bearing the cost of their preparation and publication. Instead of occupying time by describing the nature of these tables, I have arranged that copies shall be placed in your hands, and as it would scarcely be decorous for me to praise my own work, and I do not see how to find fault with it, I leave these tables without further comment.

Another organisation requires notice, namely, that of the Army Medical Department, which has really grown out of a series of stations originated by Sir H. James, R.E. It has sixteen stations,

besides those in the United Kingdom, viz. one each at Gibraltar, Malta, Scutari, Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Hong Kong, Singapore, Barbados, Bermuda, and Halifax, two in Jamaica, and four in Ceylon.

When these stations were first established the results (if I may judge of the Colonial stations by the English ones) were not of much value. Latterly, however, I believe that a rigorous reorganisation has been carried out, and the results consequently have been raised in value. I hope that the Department will call upon the officers in charge for full reports and details as to the arrangement and locality in which the instruments are placed. At present nothing is given but the numerical values, and one cannot tell which are good stations and which are bad. The following table gives an epitome of the results:—

| STATION. | TEMPERATURE. | | | | | Mean Humidity. | Average Rainfall. |
|-------------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| | Mean. | Absolute Max. | Absolute Min. | Absolute Range. | Mean Daily Range. | | |
| | ° | ° | ° | ° | ° | 0·100 | in. |
| Scutari | 58·7 | 103·6 | 13·0 | 90·6 | 18·0 | 71 | 29 |
| Hong Kong | 74·1 | 101·5 | 38·0 | 63·5 | 13·3 | 71 | 91 |
| Jamaica, Up. Park | 79·6 | 107·0 | 50·0 | 57·0 | 27·8 | 60 | 54 |
| „ Newcastle ... | 69·2 | 99·0 | 40·0 | 59·0 | 20·2 | 75 | 92 |
| Bermuda | 70·6 | 98·2 | 37·2 | 61·0 | 15·3 | 70 | 52 |
| Halifax | 43·0 | 93·0 | -15·7 | 108·7 | 21·3 | 71 | 54 |

On receipt of the request from the Council that I would prepare the present paper, I resolved that I would try to make it not merely the subject of an hour's talk, but a paper which should be creditable to myself, and worthy of appearing in our Transactions.

The first step was to sort out of my own library all works bearing upon the climate of the Colonies, and have lists made of those referring to each Colony. These lists, together with a circular letter, were sent to the Chief Secretary of twenty-eight Colonies. The circular (Appendix A and B), stated that I was preparing this paper, and anxious to render it an accurate guide to what was known respecting the climate of each Colony, and also to show what each was doing to obtain weather records at the present time. Similar circulars were sent to the Agents-General in this country.

I am glad to acknowledge the receipt of very considerable assistance in response to these applications: the details are epitomised in Appendix C.

Lastly, I give in a third Appendix (D.), a list of the publications

consulted for the preparation of this paper. Having a great dislike to incomplete work, I do not call this appendix by any more dignified title than that of a "List of Works consulted," but it is by far the nearest approach to a complete catalogue of works on the climate of the British Colonies ever compiled. It includes nearly 350 separate works, the aggregate weight of which must be nearly a quarter of a ton. Perhaps the fact of having had to hunt through such a mass of materials entitles me to a little sympathy if my paper is somewhat heavy.

Having thus explained the materials collected, I shall without further preface state in as few words as I can what I have ascertained about each Colony, and I shall take them in the order of the tables in your hands, but with some additions and some omissions; but roughly the order will be England to the Cape of Good Hope, thence to India, Ceylon, Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, the Falkland Isles, West Indies, and Canada.

ST. HELENA.

Observations were made at Longwood, 1,764 ft. above sea level, from 1841 to 1847 inclusive. The observations have been printed *in extenso*, but only the first five years have been discussed. The climate is a perfect type of an insular station. Mean temp. $61^{\circ}4$, highest $77^{\circ}6$, lowest $52^{\circ}0$, range in five years only $25^{\circ}6$, mean daily range $5^{\circ}6$, mean humidity 87. The amount of rainfall is very doubtful, for the yearly totals range from $90\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $19\frac{1}{2}$ in., and simultaneous observations of two gauges only one mile apart, showed that at the second station the fall was only one-sixth of that above stated. Apparently the average is about 40 in., but the amount is quite uncertain.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Three sets of observations have been made in this Colony. The first, extending from 1841 to 1846, were similar to those just mentioned at St. Helena, but, although the entire volume of tables was set up and printed more than twenty years since it was not published until 1876, and I have never seen a copy. This is a glaring, but unfortunately by no means unique waste of national money. The second set is the continuation of the same series at the Royal Observatory. The following are the principal results: Mean temperature $61^{\circ}2$, highest $97^{\circ}4$, lowest $37^{\circ}7$, range $59^{\circ}7$, mean daily range $10^{\circ}3$, mean humidity 75, mean rainfall 24 in. In the year 1859, while the Hon. Rawson W. Rawson was Colonial Secretary, a commission was appointed by the Government to obtain

records of the climate of different parts of the Colony. About £400 worth of instruments were purchased, conveyed to the Cape, and distributed; and about a fourth of that sum was spent in collecting, reducing, and publishing the results. The temperatures above given seem fairly to represent the average climate of the Colony, but the extremes are greater at several stations than at the Royal Observatory. For example, temperatures exceeding 100° are reported from four stations, and at one—Amalienstein— $110^{\circ}7$ was reached on January 11, 1868, while at Aliwal N. sharp frosts occur. The rainfall varies from 8 in. in Namaqualand to 40 in. near Cape Town. The average over the whole may perhaps be taken at 20 in. The work of this Commission seems to have been suspended between 1868 and 1875, or at any rate the observations have been very incomplete since the former year. A new Commission has recently been appointed, and the service is now being reorganised. Observations are also made at Cape Town by the Army Medical Department.

NATAL.

The Government of this Colony cannot be complimented upon what they have done for Meteorology. Very full records were kept by Dr. Mann, between 1858 and 1865, but it was, I believe, purely voluntary work on his part, the Government neither furnishing instruments nor assistant. A register is kept at the Botanic Gardens, Durban, but, we believe, therewith begins and ends the Governmental action in the matter. For a Colony aiming at extensive sugar production, it is suicidal not to have accurate knowledge of the rainfall. It is done in Mauritius, it is done in Jamaica, it has been thoroughly done in Barbados, but in Natal it has been entirely ignored. The only results I can give are for Pietermaritzburg, 2,100 ft. above sea—Mean temperature $64^{\circ}6$, highest $97^{\circ}8$, lowest $29^{\circ}0$, range $68^{\circ}8$, mean daily range $18^{\circ}8$, mean humidity 72, mean rainfall 30 in. The temperature is much higher on the coast—at Durban about 69° —and the rainfall larger, but having only the record for one year it is useless to quote it. Two private observers have taken the rainfall for some years: Mr. Wilkinson at Ottawa Sugar Estate, 10 m. N. of Durban, has a mean of 42 in., and Mr. Lamport at Merebank, 8 m. S.W. of Durban, of 44 in., both of them small amounts for sugar cultivation.

MAURITIUS.

Considerable attention has been given to the climate of this island for many years. It has possessed a Meteorological Society for a quarter of a century, and, what is still more important, that society

has had a hard-working secretary. The principal observations have been made in the vicinity of Port Louis, and give for it—Mean temperature $77^{\circ}\cdot1$, highest 90° , lowest $62^{\circ}\cdot8$, range $27^{\circ}\cdot2$, daily range $6^{\circ}\cdot7$, humidity 71, mean rainfall 56 in. The rainfall is, however, much greater in other parts of the island, reaching 100 or 150 in. in Moka, Grand Port, and some parts of Flacq.

BENGAL.

Before making any special remarks upon the climate of this province, I think it only right to state that, in my own opinion, few actions have been more judicious than that of the Indian Government, in at once acting upon the remarks made in the House of Commons by Mr. Egerton Hubbard, and creating one supreme and controlling Meteorological Department for the whole of India; nor do I fear contradiction when I assert that the present director, Mr. Blanford, is the fittest man for the post, not merely as the best meteorologist in India, but also as a firm administrator, a qualification of great importance. It would be ridiculous to attempt to give here either a summary of the meteorological work done in India, or of its results. I believe that the days when Indian rain gauges were taken indoors and locked up every night are gone for ever, and that we may implicitly rely on Mr. Blanford, who knows what is necessary, doing all that is possible. However, I ought perhaps to give a few figures. At Calcutta the mean temperature is 79° , highest 106° , lowest $52^{\circ}\cdot7$, range $53^{\circ}\cdot3$, daily range $18^{\circ}\cdot2$, humidity 76, mean rainfall 66 in. The rainfall of Bengal varies very greatly, ranging from 37 in. at Patna, to 527 in. at Cherra Poonjee; this last being, as far as is at present known, the wettest spot in the world.

BOMBAY.

The meteorology of this Presidency is now being carefully observed. Observations have been made at the Colaba Observatory for more than a quarter of a century; the results are—Mean temperature $79^{\circ}\cdot0$, highest $93^{\circ}\cdot5$, lowest $58^{\circ}\cdot0$, range $34^{\circ}\cdot5$, daily range $9^{\circ}\cdot7$, mean humidity 76, mean rainfall 71 in., nearly all of which falls in June, July, August, and September. Respecting the climate of other parts of the Presidency, it is scarcely safe to say more than that there has been lavish expenditure of money for instruments in the past; but that, owing to the absence of trained supervision, the results hitherto published are of doubtful value. Mr. F. Chambers has been appointed meteorological reporter for Bombay, Rajputana, &c. and has commenced his duties by a tour

of inspection, which will lead to accuracy and uniformity. I may perhaps quote his report upon one station, as an instance of the paramount importance of personal supervision and inspection :—

“ Vingorla is one of the places along the coast from which telegraphic weather-reports are sent to Bombay during the south-west monsoon, and I was wishful to see what provisions existed there for procuring trustworthy meteorological information. They were found to be of the most meagre description. A pair of common bath thermometers hung against a thick wall in the porch of a house, and a small iron flag, fixed on the top of a tree, but not in action at the time of my visit, were the only instruments available for the purpose. The position of the building where the observations are made is very objectionable, as it is protected from the winds by hills on all sides, except to the south and south-west, and it is very doubtful whether wind observations made at such a place are not more misleading than informing. If it is at all worth while having telegraphic weather-reports sent to Bombay from stations along the coast, it is surely advisable that steps should be taken to make that information really trustworthy.”

MADRAS.

I have not received from the Madras Government any information as to the condition of meteorology in that Presidency, and my own knowledge is limited. Observations have been made at Madras Observatory for a great many years, and several thousand pounds have been expended in printing huge volumes of figures ; but in the whole of the books I cannot find a single trustworthy abstract of the climate of Madras. I believe the mean temperature is about 80° , the highest 110° , the lowest $57^{\circ}\cdot6$, range $52^{\circ}\cdot4$, mean daily range $16^{\circ}\cdot6$, and the rainfall 48 in. ; but I do not at all bind myself to those values. Observations are made at about a dozen subsidiary stations, and the rainfall is recorded at 215 Revenue Board stations, but where the results are to be found I do not know. Probably the explanation of this unsatisfactory condition of affairs lies in the attempt to make one man discharge the duties of Government astronomer and meteorological superintendent.

CEYLON.

The arrangements in this Colony seem generally satisfactory ; the results are published promptly and regularly, there are a fair number of stations, and the chief obvious desideratum is information as to the position, &c. of the instruments and stations. A compact annual report would be a valuable supplement to the

present series of separate sheets. The mean temperature of Colombo is $80^{\circ}\cdot7$, highest 95° , lowest $68^{\circ}\cdot3$, range $26^{\circ}\cdot7$, mean daily range 9° , mean humidity 83° , mean rainfall 76 in. On the mountains the temperature is much lower, *e.g.* in February, 1875, when 95° was recorded at Colombo, the temperature at Nuwara Eliya did not exceed 78° , and sharp frost was reported on the grass, although at Colombo the grass minimum was 55° . The rainfall varies very much; the average for the island must be nearly 100 in.: it ranges from 34 in. at Hambantota, to 209 in. at Ambagamuwa. It seems as if nearly all the data necessary for determining the precise conditions adapted for the successful cultivation of coffee have been collected, and a report, with maps of the rainfall, elevation, geology, and produce of the island, would be of immense value to other Colonies.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

With the exception of Singapore, I believe no observations are at present made in this district. An annual report is, however, submitted by the principal civil medical officer (Mr. H. L. Randell), which gives a good summary for Singapore, and the rainfall at eight other stations in the vicinity. Mean temperature $79^{\circ}\cdot8$, highest 98° , lowest 65° , range 28° , mean daily range $12^{\circ}\cdot8$, mean rainfall 95 in. Mr. Randell pleads earnestly for a good water supply, and remarks that it seems that "anything less than 25 in. of rainfall during the dry season is pretty certain to be followed by some epidemic."

QUEENSLAND.

The meteorological system of this Colony is under the Registrar-General's department, and appears to be efficiently worked. Extending as this Colony does about 1,000 miles from east to west, and about 1,300 from north to south, it naturally has different climates. There are, I believe, only three fully-equipped stations, viz. Brisbane, Cape Morton, and Toowoomba, and they are all in the south-east corner of the Colony. There is, therefore, no information as to the temperature of the northern or western part, but it must be very high. At Brisbane, the mean temperature is 70° , highest 108° , lowest $34^{\circ}\cdot5$, range $73^{\circ}\cdot5$, mean daily range $20^{\circ}\cdot9$, mean humidity 76, mean rainfall 51 in. There are 51 rainfall stations in the Colony—most of them within 100 miles of the coast: along the coast the rainfall is between 80 and 100 in.; fifty miles inland it does not average 40 in., and further inland it appears to be from 10 to 20 in.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

The organisation of the meteorological service of this Colony appears to be very satisfactory; the fully-equipped second order stations are numerous; the publications, though neither bulky nor costly, contain all the data required for climatological purposes, and the daily weather reports published in the local newspapers provide ample data for chartographic meteorology. At Sydney the values are—mean temperature $62^{\circ}4$, highest 107° , lowest 36° , range 71° , mean daily range $14^{\circ}7$, humidity 72, rainfall 50 in. The coast rainfall may be taken as about 40 in., but it is very much less inland; in fact, years with no rain at all are reported to have occurred; but in such a climate it is not remarkable that even Mr. Russell has not succeeded in obtaining any regular observers.

VICTORIA.

This Colony has a fair number of fully-equipped stations; but a few more are needed in the north and west. The mean temperature of Melbourne is $57^{\circ}5$, highest $111^{\circ}2$, lowest $27^{\circ}0$, range $84^{\circ}2$, mean daily range $18^{\circ}8$, mean humidity 72, mean rainfall 26 in. Excessively high temperatures are said to occur in the north-west (where there are no regular stations), and mention is made of shade temperatures of 128° to 125° for several days together. In other respects, however, the temperature of Melbourne fairly represents that of the Colony generally. There is no part in which the mean rainfall appears to reach 40 in.; it seems generally to be from 20 to 30 in., and less than 20 in. in the north-west. The sketch-map issued with the Melbourne reports is a feature which should be imitated by every other Colony.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

This Colony has always struck me as the most energetic of all our Australian Colonies. Nothing but tremendous energy would have induced the comparatively small population of South Australia to attempt the most difficult telegraphic enterprise ever undertaken; and certainly none but men of great energy would expect one man efficiently to discharge the duties of Postmaster-General, Superintendent of a land telegraph nearly 2,000 miles long, Government Astronomer, and Director of the Meteorological system of the Colony. Yet this is what Mr. Todd is expected to do, and does do well. In his article upon "South Australia: Its Observatory and Meteorology," Mr. Todd truly remarks, that "in a young

Colony, where a mere handful of people have to bring vast wastes under cultivation, build new homes, construct roads and railways, and carry out other extensive public works necessary for the development of the country they have traversed the ocean to occupy, it is not to be expected that much time, thought, or money can be devoted to science or art." Yet the South Australians have not only kept up perfect second-order stations at Adelaide, and four or five other stations in the South, but they have fifty-five rainfall stations, besides the fifteen, which are perhaps the most important set in the world, viz. those which run like a chain through the very centre of Australia. Neither Queensland, New South Wales, nor Victoria have penetrated to the inland boundaries of their own territories: South Australia has pierced through the very heart of the Continent. The Adelaide results are as follows: Mean temperature $63^{\circ}\cdot1$, highest $113^{\circ}\cdot5$, lowest $34^{\circ}\cdot2$, range $79^{\circ}\cdot3$, mean daily range $20^{\circ}\cdot6$, humidity 60, rain 21 inches. In the southern part of South Australia the temperature and rainfall are fairly represented by the above figures; in the centre it is hotter and drier—in fact, according to the short period that the telegraph stations have been established, the rainfall seems to be only 4 or 5 inches. In the extreme north the temperature is uniform and high, the air is very damp, and the rainfall about 50 inches.

WEST AUSTRALIA.

I am not aware that the Government of this Colony ever spent a shilling upon investigations of its climate. Except lighthouse registers, which are rarely true exponents of local climate, I do not know of any records being kept in this vast Colony; (it is nearly twelve times as large as Great Britain). In Silver's *Handbook to Australia* it is stated that the coast rainfall is about 30 inches, and the mean temperature of Perth 63° . I know that the Colony is poor, but so it will continue if energy is not displayed, and a grant of £50 judiciously expended would repay itself ten times over.

TASMANIA.

Having received no reply to the circular sent to this Colony, I have only my own knowledge upon which to rely. I am not aware that the Government has done anything towards ascertaining the climate of Tasmania. A very full and accurate journal has been kept (in continuation of that kept in connection with the Magnetic Observatory) by a private gentleman, Mr. F. Abbott, F.R.A.S., for a quarter of a century, at Hobart Town, and during 1862 he also

established stations at the lighthouses round the north and east coasts, but I do not know that they were continued. I have no records for any length of time except for Hobart Town, of which the mean temperature is $54^{\circ}4$, highest 105° , lowest 29° , range 76° , mean daily range $17^{\circ}9$, humidity 75, rainfall 28 inches.

NEW ZEALAND.

The New Zealand Government has always appeared to me to be very judicious in their treatment of scientific matters. Certainly, as regards meteorology there is little to complain of. They have a reasonable number of stations, very well distributed, provided with full sets of instruments, which appear to be similar, and similarly mounted—in fact, just such as I have here. Their publications are, on the whole, well arranged, and distributed liberally but not lavishly. The only deficiency in the publications which I have noticed is the absence of a compact table of extremes of shade temperature. The following are the values for Wellington: Mean temperature $55^{\circ}6$, highest 88° , lowest 30° , range 58° , mean daily range 12° , humidity 68, rainfall 47 inches. At some of the hill stations and on the west coast, the rainfall exceeds 100 inches, but apparently the wet stations are also colder than Wellington.

BRITISH GUIANA.

Careful observations were made at Georgetown Observatory from 1846 to 1856 inclusive, and in 1857 a rather extravagantly printed volume was published, giving daily values; owing, I suppose, to the cost of this publication, the second volume, which was to have contained abstracts of the results, has not been published. As it would be a serious undertaking to reduce the whole book (275 4to. pages) for the sake of obtaining the values, which the Colony should have done, I merely offer the following as apparently approximations to the truth: Mean temperature 79° , highest 89° , lowest 68° , range 21° , mean daily range 10° , mean rainfall 94 inches. I do not know that any records are now kept in the Colony.

TRINIDAD.

I have received no reply to the application to the Government of this Colony, and do not know that any official attention has ever been given to the subject. I am glad, however, to have recently found that the Rev. H. G. Wall has been making regular observations at Couva Rectory for fourteen years, but I have not at present any of his results. It would be creditable and judicious for the

Government to offer to have Mr. Wall's observations examined by some competent person, and if found satisfactory to have them printed at the expense of the Colony.

I have just gleaned a scrap of information as to Trinidad rainfall from the last number of *The Colonies*, in which it is stated that the rainfall of 1876 was 77½ inches, the mean of the last twenty years being 66½.

BARBADOS.

During the Governorship of Sir Rawson Rawson great attention was paid to the climate of this Colony, and especially to its rainfall, which is by no means uniform throughout the island. Governor Rawson's work on the relation of rainfall to the sugar crop will ever remain a proof at once of his industry, and of the close correlation of science and practice. At Binfield, accurate observations have been made for twenty-five years, but I have not seen any general summary; the mean temperature is, however, about 75°, highest 85°, lowest 64°, range 21°, mean daily range 6°·8, mean humidity 83, mean rainfall 67 inches. It is greatly to be regretted that since the departure of Sir Rawson Rawson the whole subject has been neglected by the Government, and I believe that there would be no observations at all were it not for the private exertions of Dr. Walcott.

ST. KITTS.

No reply received, and no data known to be in existence.

JAMAICA.

No regular observations have been established in the Colony (except those made by the Army Medical Department), and no papers upon the subject have been published. About twenty rain gauges have been in more or less regular use for three years, and indicate a rainfall varying from about 87 inches at Kingston to upwards of 100 inches at the Cinchona Plantation in the parish of St. Andrew.

BRITISH HONDURAS.

No regular meteorological station has ever been established in this Colony, but from such fragmentary data as I have been able to collect it appears that at Belize the mean temperature is about 80°, highest 88°, lowest 58°, range 30°, mean daily range 3°, mean rainfall 71 inches. The steady high temperature, 84° by day, and

80° or 82° by night during several months, must be very trying to Europeans.

BERMUDA.

Several sets of observations have been made at different times and in different parts of Bermuda, but the results have never been collected together, or properly discussed, and I rather doubt if they are worth much expenditure of time or trouble. The present Governor (Major-General Lefroy, F.R.S.) might perhaps use his influence to see one station properly equipped, and arrangements made for the discussion and publication of the results. From a pamphlet upon agriculture by the Governor, and several fragmentary records, I believe that the mean temperature is 71°, highest 95°, lowest 46°, range 49°, mean daily range 14°, mean humidity 80, mean rainfall 48 inches.

CANADA.

The climate of the vast territory (nearly as large as Europe) now known as the Dominion of Canada, is far too large a subject to be dismissed in a few words, and yet no other course is open to me. The separate publications on the climates of the various provinces are neither numerous nor important, and, except for Toronto, I know of no publication of observations or results for any considerable number of years. Mr. Smallwood, of Montreal, made careful observations for many years, commencing about 1858, but I have never seen any summary of his results. In 1871 Professor Kingston, of Toronto Observatory, was appointed to the directorship of the then newly-created meteorological office of the Dominion of Canada, and since that time the results from the various stations, both public and private, have been published in his annual reports. In the course of time these volumes will become of great value, but at present, being strictly confined to a statement of the facts observed in each year, without a word of comment and without a single comparison with previous years, they are not in a form available to any but a strictly scientific investigator, and even he would have much work to do which ought to be done by the Canadian Meteorological Office. At present it would appear that the funds or staff at Professor Kingston's disposal are inadequate.

Under these circumstances I have had to fall back for data for the present note upon other publications, and I only claim for the following that they are the best readily attainable :—

Toronto: Mean temperature $44^{\circ}.1$, highest $99^{\circ}.2$, lowest $-26^{\circ}.5$, range $125^{\circ}.7$, mean daily range $16^{\circ}.6$, mean humidity 77, mean rain 86 inches.

St. John's, Newfoundland: Mean temperature 40° , highest $92^{\circ}.5$, lowest $-21^{\circ}.0$, range $113^{\circ}.5$, daily range, $14^{\circ}.4$, rainfall 55 inches.

Spence's Bridge, British Columbia: Mean temperature $46^{\circ}.8$, highest 100° , lowest $-29^{\circ}.0$, range $129^{\circ}.0$, daily range $19^{\circ}.8$, humidity 62, rainfall doubtful.

Manitoba, Winnipeg: Mean temperature $31^{\circ}.8$, highest $95^{\circ}.0$, lowest $-48^{\circ}.1$, range $138^{\circ}.1$, daily range $28^{\circ}.2$, humidity 84, rainfall 22 inches.

The necessary limits of time and space have compelled me to pass over some of our minor Colonies, although in some of them (notably in the Falkland Isles) good work is being done.

And now I should like to sum up the results, but it is impossible to do so in any reasonable space. I therefore throw the figures into a table, and merely quote a few of the salient features.

Colombo, Ceylon, has the highest average temperature, $80^{\circ}.7$, but Madras and British Honduras are nearly as hot.

The highest point reached in the shade at any of the stations quoted is at Adelaide, $118^{\circ}.5$, but still higher temperatures are reported from the district near the junction of the Murray and Darling rivers.

The lowest temperature, $-48^{\circ}.1$, 75° below freezing, is reported from Winnipeg, Manitoba. This station is in lat. $49^{\circ}58'$ N., and is therefore nearer the Equator than any part of England, yet the cold is so intense as to freeze mercury nearly every winter.

The range of temperature, or the difference between the very highest and very lowest temperatures, and which may be regarded as the exponent of the amount of change between summer and winter, varies very greatly, viz. from 21° at Barbados and British Guiana to $138^{\circ}.1$ at Manitoba, thus illustrating in an extreme manner the difference between tropical and insular and continental climates.

The difference between night and day, which averages 16° in London, is only 8° at British Honduras, and below 7° at St. Helena, Mauritius, and Barbados, all insular stations.

The driest climate seems to be Adelaide, the wettest is uncertain. The largest rainfall in the table is 95 inches at Singapore; but, as already mentioned, the actually largest known fall is at Cherra Poonjee, 527 inches. The least is 21 inches at Adelaide, but it is much less, perhaps only 4 or 5 inches, in Central Australia.

LEADING CLIMATOLOGICAL FEATURES OF THE PRINCIPAL BRITISH COLONIES.

| NAME OF COLONY AND STATION. | TEMPERATURE. | | | | | Mean Humidity. | Average Rainfall. |
|--------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| | Mean. | Abs- olute Max. | Abs- olute Min. | Abs- olute Range. | Mean Daily Range. | | |
| | ° | ° | —10°0 | 105°0 | ° | 0-100 | in. |
| London..... | 49·0 | 95·0 | 5·0 | 90·0 | 15·6 | 82 | 25 |
| St. Helena, Longwood | 61·4 | 77·6 | 52·0 | 25·6 | 5·6 | 87 | 40 |
| Cape of Good Hope | 61·2 | 97·4 | 37·7 | 59·7 | 10·3 | 75 | 24 |
| Natal | 64·6 | 97·8 | 29·0 | 68·8 | 18·3 | 72 | 30 |
| Mauritius | 77·1 | 90·0 | 62·8 | 27·2 | 6·7 | 71 | 56 |
| Bengal, Calcutta..... | 79·0 | 106·0 | 52·7 | 53·3 | 13·2 | 76 | 66 |
| Bombay | 79·0 | 93·5 | 58·0 | 34·5 | 9·7 | 76 | 71 |
| Madras..... | 80·0 | 110·0 | 57·6 | 52·4 | 16·6 | — | 48 |
| Ceylon | 80·7 | 95·0 | 68·3 | 26·7 | 9·0 | 83 | 76 |
| Straits Settlements | 79·8 | 93·0 | 65·0 | 28·0 | 12·8 | — | 95 |
| Queensland, Brisbane | 70·0 | 108·0 | 34·5 | 73·5 | 20·9 | 76 | 51 |
| New South Wales, Sydney | 62·4 | 107·0 | 36·0 | 71·0 | 14·7 | 72 | 50 |
| Victoria, Melbourne | 57·5 | 111·2 | 27·0 | 84·2 | 18·8 | 72 | 26 |
| South Australia, Adelaide..... | 63·1 | 113·5 | 34·2 | 79·3 | 20·6 | 60 | 21 |
| Tasmania, Hobart Town | 54·4 | 105·0 | 29·0 | 76·0 | 17·9 | 75 | 23 |
| New Zealand, Wellington | 55·6 | 83·0 | 30·0 | 53·0 | 12·0 | 68 | 47 |
| British Guiana | 79·0 | 89·0 | 68·0 | 21·0 | 10·0 | — | 94 |
| Barbados | 75·0 | 85·0 | 64·0 | 21·0 | 6·8 | 83 | 67 |
| British Honduras, Belize | 80·0 | 88·0 | 58·0 | 30·0 | 3·0 | — | 71 |
| Bermuda | 71·0 | 95·0 | 46·0 | 49·0 | 14·0 | 80 | 48 |
| Canada, Newfoundland | 40·0 | 92·5 | —21·0 | 113·5 | 14·4 | — | 55 |
| „ Toronto | 44·1 | 99·2 | —26·5 | 125·7 | 16·6 | 77 | 36 |
| „ Manitoba | 31·3 | 95·0 | —43·1 | 138·1 | 23·2 | 84 | 22 |
| „ British Columbia..... | 46·3 | 100·0 | —29·0 | 129·0 | 19·3 | 62 | — |

Although not a medical man, I should have been glad of the opportunity of saying a little respecting the effect of Colonial climates on the health of Englishmen, but time forbids more than a few words. As regards excessive heat, the hottest which has come under our notice is Central Australia, and there Mr. Todd says he has ridden fifty miles in the day with the temperature as high as 110° without much inconvenience or distress, because these high temperatures are always accompanied by such extreme dryness that perspiration affords instantaneous relief. Damp heat is what tells upon white men; and though a good deal of the injury ascribed to tropical climates is due to irregularities of life, there seems to be little doubt that to the majority of men continued damp heat is seriously injurious. In 1744 one John Peter Purry wrote a pamphlet with the title “Method for determining the best climate of the earth,” in which he demonstrated to his own satisfaction that that Eldorado was to be found on the 88° of latitude, both N. and S. He induced a sufficient number of people to believe in him to start

with a party for South Carolina and establish a little Colony called Purrysburgh, but the only trace of it is the small town now called Parisburgh near the shore of the Savannah. I do not think that we are nearer the discovery of this terrestrial Paradise than John Purry was, but a pamphlet by Dr. Phillippo, recently lent to me, almost implies that it must be in the Blue Mountains of Jamaica.

I must say one word respecting consumption, and the great benefit of a voyage to Australia or to the high lands of the Cape of Good Hope. In consumption, it seems to me that prompt action is the essential point; and if I were a medical man I should soon lessen my circle of patients, for immediately that I was satisfied that phthisis was imminent, I should insist on a voyage, not to any of the fashionable lounges on the Mediterranean, but right away to Australia, and caution the sufferer not to hurry back.

The application of meteorological data to agricultural practice is an almost untrodden field. It is in reality the keystone of all attempts at acclimatisation, and I much regret that so very little harmonious co-operation has existed between the respective leaders of meteorology, acclimatisation, and agriculture; the subjects are mutually inter-dependent, and it is simple extravagance to carry on acclimatisation or agriculture without due regard to climate. I had better illustrate this with an example. In a journal usually very well informed there was recently a note respecting acclimatisation, in which it was stated that "the *Eucalyptus globulus*, or blue gum-tree, would be a valuable acquisition for England, because of its remarkable effect in counteracting the malaria of marsh lands and swamps, and its enormous power of absorbing water." The errors in this statement are more numerous than the lines it occupies, but the one which affects us is the fact that the *Eucalyptus* cannot stand a hard frost, and only survives an English winter when it is as exceptionally mild as that of 1876-77, or when planted in a warm and sheltered corner. Under the influence of almost universal drainage, the "malaria from marsh lands and swamps" in England is not a wide-spread evil, and where it exists the cold would soon settle the fate of any number of *Eucalypti*.

Although I do not think that acclimatisation has hitherto been conducted on sufficiently scientific principles, I believe that it has been of great benefit, and may be of still greater.

Can anybody say why all the world should depend for its supply of currants upon one part of Greece? Mr. William Sowerby has shown that they can be grown, with a little winter shelter, in London. Why should not Australia grow its own? The keeping

quality of the fruit depends chiefly upon its being properly dried. This, in the vicinity of Patras, is effected by the hot sun, and a shower seriously injures it ; but are there not hot and dry periods in New South Wales ?

I must not trespass further upon your time. I have tried to show you how little and how much we know of the subject I have brought before you. I have shown you that while some Colonies are working zealously and well, others ignore the subject altogether. I have explained that the fatal blot of want of uniformity prevails throughout the Empire, and I conclude by asking you to demand that uniform action be adopted to arouse the lethargic Colonies who are doing nothing, and to take such steps as to you shall seem fit to secure the promotion of investigations into the relation between climatology and agricultural produce.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

62, CAMDEN SQUARE, LONDON, N.W.

October, 1876.

SIR,—I have been requested by the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute to prepare a paper upon “The Climates of the various British Colonies,” and have undertaken to do so. I am very anxious to render this paper an accurate epitome of all that is known respecting the climate of each Colony, and also to show what each is doing towards obtaining weather records at the present time. For this purpose it is, in the first place, essential that I have complete sets of the works upon Meteorology published by and in each Colony. Secondly, it is necessary that I know precisely what stations are at work in each Colony, and with what instruments they are equipped. In order to avoid troubling you for duplicate publications (any such I should, however, place in the library of the Meteorological Society, of which I am secretary), I append a list of those referring to your Colony which are in my library, and I shall be obliged by any others of which you may have copies. With the *current* state of Meteorological Observations in your Colony I am tolerably familiar, having the honour of being editor of the enclosed table, and therefore in communication with most of the chiefs of the Colonial Meteorological Systems. But, at the same time, I shall be thankful for any information which you can place at my disposal.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

G. J. SYMONS.

APPENDIX B.

From *The Colonies*, No. CCXXIV., October 28, 1876.

CLIMATOLOGICAL TABLE FOR THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

APRIL, 1876.

| Stations. | Absolute. | | | | Average. | | | | Absolute. | | Total Rain. | | Aver. |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|------------|--------------|---------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-----------|---------------|----------------|--------------|-------|-------|
| | Maximum. | | Minimum. | | Max. | Min. | Dew Point. | Humidity. | Max. in Sun. | Min. on Grass. | Depth. | Days. | |
| | Temp. | Date. | Temp. | Date. | | | | | | | | | |
| England, London | Deg. 71·1 | 8 | Deg. 30·7 | 12 | Deg. 57·5 | Deg. 41·5 | Deg. 41·5 | 78 | Deg. 126·6 | Deg. 25·4 | ins. 1·90 | 11 | 6·2 |
| Cape of Good Hope | 93·1 | 15 | 43·0 | 26 | 76·7 | 53·5 | 52·5 | 73 | .. | .. | 1·11 | 5 | 3·6 |
| Mauritius Obser- vatory | 84·8 | 3 | 66·6 | 30 | 81·2 | 71·8 | 67·1 | 73 | .. | .. | 5·48 | 18 | 5·4 |
| Calcutta | 99·5 | 9 | 73·5 | 13 | 95·0 | 79·6 | .. | 71 | 147·0 | .. | ·20 | 3 | .. |
| Bombay. | 92·0 | 19 | 73·8 | 1, 2 | 87·2 | 77·4 | 73·1 | 74 | 146·7 | 70·6 | ·00 | 0 | 1·7 |
| Madras | 97·0 | 18 | 74·5 | 5 | 93·4 | 78·4 | 75·6 | 74 | 145·0 | 71·0 | ·71 | 1 | 2·2 |
| Ceylon, Colombo | 90·6 | 22 | 73·8 | 27 | 88·5 | 78·8 | 75·8 | 77 | 160·9 | 50·1 | 16·28 | 18 | 5·9 |
| Brisbane | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| New South Wales, Sydney | 87·0 | 5 | 52·6 | 18 | 73·6 | 58·0 | 55·8 | 73 | 121·7 | 39·5 | 5·25 | 10 | 4·5 |
| Melbourne | 79·0 | 15 | 41·0 | 27 | 67·9 | 48·6 | 46·4 | 69 | 116·8 | 35·9 | 2·40 | 13 | 5·6 |
| Adelaide | 81·2 | 24 | 47·2 | 17 | 70·3 | 53·1 | 46·5 | 58 | 130·0 | 34·7 | 1·78 | 14 | 5·9 |
| Hobart Town | 73·0 | 24 | .. | .. | 65·1 | .. | .. | 77 | 101·0 | 35·0 | 1·82 | 18 | 7·3 |
| Christchurch | 72·0 | .. | 36·5 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 88 | 123·0 | 22·2 | 5·13 | 12 | 6·7 |
| Wellington | 72·8 | 20 | 42·5 | 12 | 62·3 | 52·0 | .. | .. | 134·0 | 31·0 | 6·67 | 12 | .. |
| Auckland | 79·1 | 5 | 45·0 | 11 | 70·8? | 54·8 | 54·6? | 77? | 135·2 | 38·4 | 3·38 | 22 | 6·5 |
| Falkland Isles, Stanley | 58·8 | 1 | 35·0 | 20 | 49·7 | 40·2 | 41·3 | 86 | 122·5 | 24·8 | 1·07 | 21 | 8·2 |
| Barbados | 82·0 | 24, 25, 26 | 60·0 | 1, 3, 4 | 79·5 | 73·7 | 68·8 | 79 | 151·0 | 65·0 | 1·69 | 17 | 6·4 |
| Toronto... .. | 57·2 | 26 | 17·0 | 2 | 45·6 | 31·7 | 39·5 | 69 | 123·2 | 6·0 | 1·84 | 15 | 6·1 |
| New Brunswick, St. John's | 53·0 | 12 | 20·0 | 4 | 43·0 | 30·9 | 30·0 | 74 | ... | .. | 1·81 | 18 | 6·7 |
| Cape Breton, Sydney | 52·9 | 17 | 17·2 | 4 | 41·2 | 28·5 | 29·0 | 86 | .. | .. | 3·46 | 17 | 7·3 |
| Newfoundland, St. John's | 53·0 | 30 | 20·0 | 4 | 38·7 | 28·7 | 31·2 | 81 | 117·0 | 19·5 | 1·67 | 18 | 8·8 |
| Winnipeg, Manitoba | 74·6 | 26 | 3·2 | 1 | 46·9 | 23·5 | 31·5 | 78 | .. | .. | ·58 | 5 | 4·3 |
| British Columbia, Spence's Bridge. | 71·0 | 28 & 30 | 29·0 | 3 | 60·7 | 37·6 | 29·5 | 49 | .. | .. | ·10 | 4 | 5·1 |

REMARKS RESPECTING THE WEATHER IN APRIL, 1876.

LONDON.—Temperature nearly the average; rainfall rather above it; very heavy snow on the 13th.

Mauritius.—Rainfall of the island generally 8·93 inches below the average. Thunder and lightning on the 10th, 13th, and 14th. Highest sea-level pressure 30·146 inches on the 27th; lowest, 29·813 inches on the 15th; mean, 30·011 inches; prevailing direction of the wind S.E. to E.N.E., with a mean hourly velocity of 12·2 miles.

MADRAS.—The atmospheric pressure during the month was slightly below the average, and the temperature 0°·5 above; the solar radiation temperature was also slightly in excess. Wind S.E. by S. with a mean daily velocity of 217 miles. The weather was fine throughout the month until the last day, on which there was a heavy thunderstorm with rain about sunrise.

CEYLON.—Thunder-storms occurred on the 2nd, 5th, 23rd, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, and 30th, and there was thunder or lightning on every other day during the month except the 13th, 14th, 15th, 18th, 20th, and 21st.

Sydney.—The drought which prevailed throughout the summer broke up during this month, and at most of the stations along the coast there were abundant rains; inland, however, many places still suffer from the drought. The weather was unusually warm for the time of year, so the grass will fortunately be able to grow for the winter supply, but it is feared that the winter feed for stock will be short.

Melbourne.—Atmospheric pressure and temperature slightly below the average; rainfall a little above it. Prevailing winds N. and W.; very boisterous and squally on the 1st, 3rd, 5th, 6th, 18th, and 27th. Thunder and lightning on the 4th; sheet lightning on the evening of the 15th; beautiful lunar rainbow shortly after 7 p.m. on the 8th.

Adelaide.—Temperature, 3° below the average. Rain general over the agricultural districts of the Colony, but none in the interior between latitudes 30° and 19°. Barometer fell to 29·520 inches on the 6th, and rose quickly to 30·262 inches, with southerly wind and fine weather.

Hobart Town.—Chinese chrysanthemum coming into flower; leaves of the ash, elm, and black mulberry beginning to fall.

Christchurch.—Early part of the month fine, at times very warm; showery during the middle; on the 25th rain set in, with wind from S.W., which increased to a furious gale on the night of the 26th, and did much damage; the rain recorded for that day was 2·12 inches. Hail on the 11th. Prevailing winds N.E. and S.W.

Wellington.—The month was fine up to the 7th, when stormy weather set in from the N.W.; on the 10th the wind changed to S.E. with rain, 2·60 being recorded on that date; heavy showers again on the night of the 12th, otherwise the weather was fine and pleasant, with moderate N.W. and S.E. winds till the 23rd, from which date it was wet and unpleasant till the close of the month. Distant thunder and lightning on the evening of the 24th. Hail on the 10th; meteor seen on the 7th, at 9.30 p.m.

Auckland.—[The average maximum temperature, dew point, and humidity are only given approximately; owing to the breakage of one of the thermometers on the 17th, and the amounts in the table marked with a ? are computed from the observations made up to that date.] Although the general character of the month was showery, the rainfall was very slightly above the average, and fully two-thirds of the total amount fell from the 25th to the 28th. Thunder was heard on the 11th in conjunction with a short but violent shower; thunder was also recorded on two other days; brilliant aurora on the night of the 15th. The wind was very light at the beginning and end of the month, but somewhat stronger during the middle, the mean daily velocity being 286 miles, the maximum 584 miles.

BARBADOS.—The barometer was steady during the month, the maximum being 30·08 inches on the 4th, 26th, and 27th, the minimum 29·96 inches on the 17th, and 18th. The temperature was about the average, the rainfall 45 per cent. below it. The wind was from N.E. during the whole of the month, and the average velocity 9·7 miles per hour, the extremes being 12 and 5 miles. The weather was fine and bright, there being only three days overcast and clouded.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The month was very mild, but cloudy; about six inches of snow fell altogether, but it did not remain long on the ground. Wind light throughout the month, except between the 20th and 22nd.

G. J. SYMONS.

APPENDIX C.

APPLICATIONS SENT OFF OCTOBER 27TH, 1876.

St. Helena.—No reply.

Cape of Good Hope.—Two replies, dated December 5th, received December 28th, 1876. Colonial Secretary states that the Cape Meteorological Commission has lately been reconstituted, and sends its report for 1875, also the "Handbook of the Cape Colony," by J. Noble, 8vo., 1875. The Government will be happy to assist Mr. Symons in any way that they can; have applied to the Commission for further publications, for transmission to Mr. Symons.

Natal.—Reply, dated December 15th, received January 21st, 1877, forwarding copy of Observations at Durban during 1875, and referring for any further information to Dr. Mann, F.R.A.S.

Mauritius.—Reply, dated January 5th, 1877, received February 2nd, 1877, stating that the Director of the Observatory had been instructed to communicate directly with Mr. Symons.

Reply from Mr. C. Meldrum, F.R.S., of same date, stating that the meteorological data published in Mauritius consist of two classes: (1) Data regarding the cyclones and meteorology of the Indian Ocean; (2) Data relating to the meteorology of Mauritius. The second class alone come within the scope of the present inquiry. They comprise: (a) Annual results of meteorological observations made in Port Louis, 1853 to 1870. These are based on observations taken four times daily—viz. at 3.30 and 9.30 a.m.

and p.m. The position of the instruments was changed at the end of 1858. (b) Results of similar observations made at Pamplemousses, six miles north-east of Port Louis, 1871 to 1874. (c) Similar results (with the addition of some from self-recording instruments) from the New (Royal Alfred) Observatory for 1875 and (in MS.) 1876. (3) Rainfall observations at twelve to thirty stations, from 1862 to 1876, with maximum and minimum temperatures at three of them.

No observations have been published in detail, and even of the results few copies remain; therefore only sends those for 1874 and 1875.

Bengal.—Reply, dated Calcutta, January 1st, 1877, received February 20th, 1877. Sends copies of "H. F. Blandford on the Winds of Northern India," Sketch of the Climate of Bengal (from Administration Report, 1872-3), Indian Meteorological Memoirs, Part I. Refers also to the Abstract of Observations at the Surveyor-General's Office, published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* and in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society*, and to various other papers, by Prinsep, Piddington, Blandford, and others, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*.

North-West Provinces.—Reply, dated Allahabad, November 30th, 1876, received December 23rd, 1876, stating that Mr. Symons' letter has been referred to the Reporter on Meteorology, requesting him to reply on behalf of the Government, giving all the assistance in his power, and sending copies of the annual reports on Meteorology up to date. [Not received.]

Bombay.—Reply, dated Bombay, January 22nd, 1877, received February 26th, 1877, enclosing reply to the circular by Mr. F. Chambers, the Government Meteorological Reporter, also copy of his Administration Report for 1875-76, and forwarding certain volumes of Observations between 1846 and 1856, and referring to Memoirs by Mr. C. Chambers, F.R.S., published in the "Philosophical Transactions."

Madras.—No reply.

Lahore.—No reply.

Ceylon.—Reply, dated Colombo, November 29th, 1876, received January 9th, 1877, enclosing specimen of the Monthly Tables published by the Government.

Straits Settlements.—Reply, dated Singapore, January 3rd, 1877, received February 20th, 1877, forwarding Annual Tables, 1870 to 1875, with Abstract, 1869 to 1875.

Queensland.—Agent-General for England replied October 31st, 1876. The only information upon the climate of the Colony, in his office, is the summary published in the *Queensland Government Gazette*, of which there are no spare copies in this country. Will be happy to allow Mr. Symons to consult his own copy, and will write to Queensland and endeavour to obtain another.

New South Wales.—Agent-General for England replied October 30th, 1876, stating that the only records in his possession, in addition to those named in the circular, are those in the New South Wales Statistical Reports for 1874, sending the same for examination and return, as he had only one copy.

Victoria.—Reply from Agent-General for England, November 4th, 1876,

also February 22nd, 1877. The former replied, forwarding copy of "Official Record 1873 Exhibition" and "Statistical Tables, Victoria," both containing meteorological data, and subsequently, on receipt of reply from his Government, sending "Meteorological Results, 1859-62, vol. ii.," "Essay on the Climate of Victoria, by Mr. R. J. Ellery," and a missing monthly record.

South Australia.—Reply from Agent-General for England, November 3rd, 1876, forwarding copy of "South Australia: its History, Resources, and Productions; by W. Marcus, J.P.," containing *inter alia* Mr. Todd's paper on the climate of S. Australia.

Western Australia.—No reply.

Tasmania.—No reply.

New Zealand.—Reply, dated Wellington, January 5th, 1877, received March 5th, 1877, stating that all publications since 1866 will be forwarded.

British Honduras.—No reply.

Trinidad.—No reply.

St. Kitts.—No reply.

Jamaica.—Reply, dated December 6th, 1876, received December 29th, 1876, stating that no books upon meteorology have been published in the Colony; that there are no stations equipped for meteorological observations by the Government; but that the rainfall is measured at a few stations; and enclosing returns for three years.

Bermuda.—Reply, dated Bermuda, January 2nd, 1877, received January 24th, 1877. No special works have been published on the meteorology of Bermuda, and information thereupon is much scattered. Some approximate results are given in the Governor's Agricultural Report (copy forwarded); Annual Tables since 1863 are in the reports of the Army Medical Department, based on observations at 9 a.m. and 3 p.m. at Prospect Camp; returns, August, 1855, to January, 1859, are in the Abstracts published by Sir H. James, R.E., and the continuation until March, 1862, is in manuscript at the Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton. In addition to the record of the Army Medical Department, the following records are being kept: At the Lighthouse, barometer and wind; on Ireland Island, Robinson cup anemometer (results sent to the Meteorological Office); by C. M. Allen, Esq., American Consul, for the Meteorological Department, Washington; by the Governor (Major-General Lefroy, F.R.S.), chiefly as check on the official records, with earth temperature in relation to horticulture.

Newfoundland.—Reply, dated St. John's, November 16th, 1876, states that there are no stations for, or publications upon, meteorology connected with the Government. The Postmaster-General (Mr. Delany) has, however, equipped two stations at St. John's, and subsidiary ones at Harbour Grace, Heart's Content, Fogo, Cape Ray, and George's Bay. The results are sent to the United States Meteorological Department, and also to that of Canada. Some old reports were years back sent to, and published by, the Smithsonian Institution.

Canada.—Reply, dated Ottawa, November 28th, 1876, received December 13th, 1876, stating that Professor Kingston has been requested to reply, and subsequently reply from the Deputy Superintendent of the Meteorological

Service for the Dominion, forwarding valuable data respecting the Meteorology of Toronto.

Nova Scotia.—Reply, dated Halifax, November 21st, 1876, received December 11th, 1876, states that there are altogether twenty-two stations in the province; the results are forwarded to Toronto for publication with those from the other Provinces.

British Columbia.—Reply, dated British Columbia, November 29th, 1876, received December 27th, 1876. No official information or publications upon the subject.

Barbados.—Reply, dated Barbados, November 29th, 1876, received December 14th, 1876. At request of Colonial Secretary, Dr. Walcott reports that he is not aware of any publications upon the climate except those issued by the late Governor, Sir Rawson W. Rawson, and that at the present time the only stations in operation are one at Bridgetown, in connection with Chief Signal Office, Washington, and that at Binfield, which was established and has been worked for twenty-five years by Dr. Walcott.

APPENDIX D.

LIST OF WORKS CONSULTED.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

"Magnetical and Meteorological Observations, 1841-46." Published by General Sabine.

"Results deduced from Meteorological Observations made in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope in the years 1861-65, 1866-67, 1867-68." Fcap. folio.

"Results from Meteorological Observations made at the Royal Observatory, Cape of Good Hope, between January, 1842, and January, 1856."

"Results of Meteorological Observations made at the Royal Observatory, Cape of Good Hope." By Sir Thomas Maclear; discussed by E. J. Stone, M.A., F.R.S., &c. 1871. Large 8vo.

"Report of the Meteorological Commission for the year." 1875. Fcap. folio.

"Descriptive Handbook of Cape Colony." J. Noble. London. 1875.

"Handbook of South Africa." S. W. Silver. London. 1876.

NATAL.

"Meteorological Observations made at Pietermaritzburg during the year 1864." Folio.

"The Climate of Maritzburg." By Dr. Mann. 1864. 8vo.

"Abstract of Meteorological Observations for the year 1875, made at Durban. Fcap. folio.

MAURITIUS.

"Deductions from the Meteorological Observations made at Port Louis Observatory during 1833-34-35."

"Results of Observations taken at the Meteorological Observatory, Port Louis, in 1868-69-70." Fcap. folio.

"Results of Observations made in 1871 at the Meteorological Observatory, Pamplémousses." Fcap. folio.

"Meteorological Observations made at Mauritius during the year 1874, with Abstract for 1853-74." Published by C. Meldrum, F.R.S. Fcap. folio.

"Annual Reports of Observatory for 1874 and 1875." Published by C. Meldrum, F.R.S. Fcap. folio.

"Meteorological Results for the year 1875." C. Meldrum, F.R.S.

"Proceedings and Transactions of the Meteorological Society of Mauritius." Edited by the Secretary. 1864. Vol. vi., 8vo.

"Monthly Notices of the Meteorological Society of Mauritius, for March, April, and November, 1871; October and November, 1872; January, February, and July, 1873. Fcap. folio.

"On the Meteorology of Port Louis." By C. Meldrum, F.R.S. (from the Report of the British Association, 1867). 8vo.

"Rainfall Curves and Cyclones." Single sheet, fcap. folio.

BENGAL.

"Revenue Meteorological Statements of the North-Western Provinces for the several official years from 1844-45 to 1849-50." Agra. 1858. 4to.

"Report of the Meteorological Reporter to the Government of Bengal, to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, 13th January, 1873." Calcutta.

"Report on the Administration of Bengal." Calcutta. 1873.

"Report of the Meteorological Reporter to the Government of Bengal for the years 1868, 1871, and 1874, with an Abstract for the year 1868." Fcap. folio (5 parts).

"Administration Report of the Meteorological Reporter to the Government of Bengal, for 1874-75 and 1875-76."

"Report on the Calcutta Cyclone of the 5th of October, 1864." By Lieutenant-Colonel J. E. Gastrell, and H. F. Blandford, A.R.S.M. 8vo.

"Report of the Midnapore and Burdwan Cyclone of the 15th and 16th October, 1874." By W. G. Wilson, M.A., L.C.E. 1875.

"A Sketch of the Mountains and River Basins of India, in two Maps, with Explanatory Memoirs." By Trelawney Saunders. 1870. 8vo.

"A Catalogue of Maps of the British Possessions in India, and other parts of Asia." 1870. 8vo.

"A Continuation to a Catalogue of Maps of the British Possessions in India and other parts of Asia." 1872. 8vo.

"A Memoir of the Indian Surveys." By Clements R. Markham. Large 8vo.

"Abstract of the Reports of the Surveys and of other Geographical Operations in India, for 1870-71 and 1871-72." 8vo.

"Meteorological Memoirs." H. F. Blandford. Calcutta. 1876. 4to.

"On some Recent Evidences of the Variation of the Sun's Heat." By H. F. Blandford (from the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.)

"Appendix to the first volume of Asiatic Researches: a Meteorological Journal." By T. D. Pearse, 1st March, 1775, to 28th February, 1786. 4to.

BOMBAY.

"Bombay Magnetical and Meteorological Observations for 1843-46-47 (parts i. and ii.), 1848-57."

"General Remarks on the Climate of Bombay, with a Description of the Weather in 1871." By C. Chambers, F.R.S. 8vo.

"The Normal Winds of Bombay." By C. Chambers, F.R.S., Superintendent of the Government Observatory. Colaba.

MADRAS.

"Meteorological Register, kept at the East India Company's Observatory at Madras." By J. Goldingham, Esq., F.R.S., and T. G. Taylor, Esq., F.R.S., F.R.A.S., for the years 1822-44. 1844. Folio.

"Philosophical Transactions: Discussion of Meteorological Observations taken in India at various Heights. W. H. Sykes, F.R.S. 1850. Fcap. folio.

"Madras Meteorological Observations." 1841-50. 2 vols. 4to.

"Meteorological Observations made at the Meteorological Bungalow on Doddabetta, in the years 1847-48," under the direction of T. G. Taylor, F.R.S., F.R.A.S. Madras, 1848. 4to.

"Madras Weekly Tables of Meteorological Results from the Madras Observatory, January to September, 1874."

CEYLON.

"Monthly Results of the Meteorological Observations in Ceylon, December, 1873; October, 1876."

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

"Annual Abstract of Meteorological Observations for the years 1870-75." H. L. Randell. Fcap. folio.

"Meteorological Observations made at the East India Company's Magnetical Observatory at Singapore, by Captain C. M. Elliott, in the years 1841-45." 1850. 4to.

QUEENSLAND.

"Meteorological Observations in Queensland during 1874." Fcap. folio.

"Summary of Meteorological Observations taken at Brisbane." By E. MacDonnell." 1868. Single sheets.

"Monthly Summaries of Meteorological Observations taken at Brisbane." By John Bliss, M.A., and E. MacDonnell. January to December, 1868, and January to July, 1869. Single sheets.

"Monthly Summaries of Meteorological Observations taken at Brisbane from January, 1874 to February, 1876." Single sheet.

"Queensland the Progressive. An Account of the Colony, its Soil, Climate, Productions and Capabilities." By J. C. White. London, 1870.

"Handbook for Australia and New Zealand." S. W. Silver & Co. London, 1874. 8vo.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

"Abstract of Meteorological Observations made in New South Wales up to the end of 1869, with Remarks on the Climate." By H. C. Russell. 1871. 8vo.

"The Inter-colonial Exhibition of 1870 at Sydney; with a variety of papers illustrative of the Industrial Resources of the Colony." 1871. 8vo.

"Meteorological Observations made at Sydney Observatory; and an Abstract from the Country Stations, January to August, 1871, January to November, 1875, and May, 1876."

"Results of Meteorological Observations in New South Wales during 1874," under the direction of H. C. Russell, B.A., F.R.A.S. 1876. 8vo.

VICTORIA.

"The Statistical Register of Victoria, from the foundation of the Colony." Edited by W. H. Archer. 1854. 8vo.

"Meteorological and Nautical Observations, 1858-1862, made at Melbourne Observatory." G. Neumayer. 1864. 4to.

"Discussion of the Meteorological and Magnetical Observations made at the Flagstaff Observatory, Melbourne, during the years 1858-63." By G. Neumayer, Ph.D. 1867.

"Catalogue of the Victorian Exhibition, 1861; with prefatory Essays, indicating the Progress, Resources, and Physical Character of the Colony."

"On Australian Climates and their influence in the prevention and arrest of Pulmonary Consumption." By S. Dongan Bird, M.D. London: Longmans. 1863. 8vo.

"Melbourne Official Record." 1873. 8vo.

"Results of Observations in Meteorology and Terrestrial Magnetism taken at Melbourne Observatory during 1872, 1873, and 1874. R. L. J. Ellery. 8vo.

"Results of Observations in Meteorology and Terrestrial Magnetism taken at Melbourne Observatory, January, 1875, to June, 1876." R. L. J. Ellery and E. J. White.

"Victorian Year-Book for the year 1874." By H. H. Hayter. Melbourne, 1875. 8vo.

"Notes on the Climate of Victoria." By R. L. J. Ellery. Melbourne, 1873. 8vo.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

"Observatory and Climate of South Australia." By C. Todd, C.M.G., F.R.A.S. 1876. 8vo.

"South Australia: its History, Resources, and Productions." By W. Marcus. 1876. 8vo.

TASMANIA.

"Results of Twenty-five Years' Meteorological Observations for Hobart Town." By F. Abbott, F.R.A.S. To which is added a "Meteorological Summary for Adelaide, Sydney, Melbourne, and Auckland," 1866. 4to.

"Results of Five Years' Meteorological Observations for Hobart Town; with which are incorporated the results of Twenty-five Years' Observations previously published." By F. Abbott, F.R.A.S. 1872. 4to.

"Results of Meteorological Observations made at the Royal Observatory. Hobart Town, 1841-54, and at the Private Observatory 1855-60." 1861. 4to.

"Observations made at the Magnetical and Meteorological Observatory, Hobart Town, 1850-53." General Sabine. 2 vols. 4to.

"Abstract of Meteorological Observations taken in Tasmania during the six months ending June, 1862."

"Monthly Notices of Papers and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Tasmania for 1870 and 1871; January, February, March, and April, 1864; and March to August, 1872."

NEW ZEALAND.

"Results of Meteorological Observations taken at Martendale, Southland, New Zealand, for the year 1865." Fcap. folio.

"Results of Meteorological Observations taken at Christchurch and Hokitika," for the years 1866 and 1867. Fcap. folio.

"Appendix to the Statistics of New Zealand," for the years 1866-75, except 1871. Fcap. folio.

"Meteorological Report, 1868; together with Abstract of all Meteorological Returns for New Zealand prior to that date." 8vo. 1869; ditto 1870, including Returns for 1869; ditto 1873, including returns for 1871 and 1872, and abstract for previous years. J. Hector, M.D., F.R.S. 1874.

"Abstract of Meteorological Observations in New Zealand; January, 1868; December, 1874; April, 1875; July, 1876; except February, 1870, and May and June, 1871. Single sheets.

"The Emigrant's Guide to New Zealand." 8vo. 1848.

BRITISH HONDURAS.

"Rough Notes and Official Reports on the River Belize, and the Physical Features of British Honduras, taken in 1867 and 1869."

JAMAICA.

"Monthly Record of Rainfall, for 1873, 1874, 1875." From the *Jamaica Gazette*.

BERMUDA.

"Agricultural Report, Analyses of Soils, Climate." 1873.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

"St. John's General Meteorological Register for the year 1872." By J. Delaney, Postmaster-General. 1873 and 1874.

"The Newfoundland Almanac for 1873." By John Woods. 8vo.

"Newfoundland Railway Report of Preliminary Survey." 1876. 8vo.

"Geological Survey of Newfoundland Report of Progress for the year 1875." 8vo. 1876.

CANADA.

"Magnetical and Meteorological Observations at Lake Athabasca, &c." By Captain Lefroy, R.A. 8vo. 1855.

"Magnetical and Meteorological Observations at Toronto." Published by General Sabine. 3 vols. 4to. 1845-57.

"Abstracts and Results of Magnetical and Meteorological Observations made at the Magnetic Observatory, Toronto, from 1841-71." 8vo.

"Abstracts of Meteorological Observations made at the Magnetical Observatory, Toronto, during the years 1854-59." 4to.

"Results of Meteorological Observations made at the Magnetical Observatory, Toronto, during the years 1860, 1861, and 1862."

"Summary of the fall of rain from June to November, 1870, and for the summer and autumn of 1871. From observations in various parts of Canada." Compiled by G. Kingston, M.A.

"Monthly Meteorological Register for the Magnetical Observatory, Toronto. May, 1855, to September, 1876." Single sheet, 4to.

"General Meteorological Register for the Magnetical Observatory, Toronto, 1855-75, except 1873."

"Reports, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th, of the Meteorological Office of the Dominion of Canada." By G. T. Kingston, M.A., Superintendent. 8vo.

"Meteorological Abstract for the year 1876." Single sheet.

"On the Changes of Barometric Pressure, and Pressure of Vapour that accompany different Winds at Toronto. From observations, 1860—1866 inclusive."

"Year Book and Almanac for Canada, for 1871." 8vo.

"The Province of Ontario: its Soil, Climate, Resources, Institutions, &c." Toronto, 1869. 8vo.

NOVA SCOTIA.

"General Meteorological Register for the year 1869." Halifax.

"On the Diurnal and Annual Variations of Temperature at Halifax." By G. T. Kingston. 1867-69.

BRITISH COLUMBIA.

"Abstract of Meteorological Observations taken at the Royal Engineers' Camp, by order of Colonel R. C. Moody, R.E., during the year 1862."

BARBADOS.

"Averages of the Monthly and Yearly Rainfall in Barbados for series of years, varying at different Stations, between 1847 and 1869."

"Government Notice, Quarterly Rainfall at various stations in Barbados, for the year 1870." Single sheet.

"Report upon the Rainfall of Barbados, and upon its Influence on the Sugar Crops, 1847-71, with two supplements, 1873-74." By Governor Rawson, C.B. 1874. Fcap. folio.

"Government Notice, Rainfall and Meteorology in Barbados, 1871 and 1872, except July, 1871."

"Rainfall in Barbados Districts, Parishes, Stations, classed into the Elevations. No. of days and nights on which rain fell, and the average of the month for series of years at different Stations. July to December 1871. October missing; January to December, 1872, August missing; February to December, 1873; January to October, 1874; and January to April, 1875."

"Map of Daily Rainfall in the Island of Barbados, January, 1873, to April, 1875."

"Government Notice, Rainfall Observations in Barbados for the year 1874." A. F. Gore. Fcap. folio.

"Tables of Rainfall in Barbados for 1874 and 1875." Single sheets.

"Meteorological Observations at Binfield, St. Joseph, for the years 1874 and 1875." Single sheets.

DISCUSSION.

Lieutenant-Colonel DENISON said he had to apologise the last time he was there for rising to address the meeting; he thought they would come to regard him as a standing nuisance. ("No.") Unfortunately his position was different from that of most of the gentlemen who attended the meeting from the Colonies. He nearly always found himself amongst representatives from Australia, the Cape of Good Hope, and elsewhere, but rarely met anyone from his own country, that of Canada. He accounted for it in this way—that the Canadians thought so much of their Colony that they did not want to leave it; and even when they did, they always wanted to get back again as soon as possible; all of which was proof of the good climate of Canada. (Laughter.) He had listened attentively to the admirable lecture read, but there was one point at which he was somewhat at issue with the paper. The lecture was devoted almost exclusively to the records of the thermometer and the scientific data obtained in all the different Colonies. He, however, did not think the thermometer knew a great deal about the weather. He had tried it in different climates, and it had always been very various; and he never could make up his mind to the belief that the raising of the thermometer actually conveyed to the mind the way in which cold affected the human system. (Laughter.) He had suffered as much here as in Canada from cold; and he could assert that English weather and the climate of St. Petersburg were worse than anything he had experienced in his own country. If he were to take his thermometer to St. Petersburg, he was sure it could never express its idea of the horrible cold without getting down off the nail altogether. But to convey an idea of the importance of Canada, he had now learned that the system of placing meteorological instruments was based altogether upon the meat-box that General

Lefroy had in Canada. He should like to know whether that was the reason why the science was called meteorology. (Laughter.) If so, just look what they all owed to Canada; not only meteorological observations, but a meat-chest to take them, and now they were actually getting the meat itself. (Renewed laughter.) He thought they were under great obligations to Canada. The subject of the evening he did not know a great deal about. He watched the thermometer at times, and knew that we never guide ourselves by the thermometer. If he was going to start off to walk into town, and he saw the thermometer 10° below zero, he was not guided so much by that as by the wind; in calm weather one did not feel the cold. He had walked three miles without an overcoat when the thermometer stood at zero and it was dry; but when there was a dampness in the climate the cold was terrible. In St. Petersburg there seemed to be a frozen mist which clung to everything. When people went out the icicles stuck to the eyelids, and it had a horrible effect to see their eyelashes covered with them—the frost covering their heads and all over them. They would never see that sort of thing in Canada. They would see the breath freeze on the mustachios and the beard, but he never saw the face covered with the frost like he saw it at St. Petersburg. He was satisfied people had false ideas about the climate of Canada, but it was mainly due to the ill reports of tourists and the ridiculous photography of persons in fur clothing. He concluded by thanking them heartily for their attention. (Cheers.)

Dr. RAE perfectly agreed with Colonel Denison's remarks about the cold. The sensation of cold depended very much upon the state of the atmosphere. A calm day and clear atmosphere, with a temperature of 72° below zero, was more bearable than when the thermometer stood at minus 15° or 20° , with a strong breeze of wind blowing. He had experienced this very frequently, and had walked out with only a thin coat on during a temperature of minus 72° without injury. In illustration of what men could go through, he mentioned that for six days he and a hunting party were out on the barren lands near Bear Lake, during which time the thermometer never rose above 40° below zero, and one night it was down at 62° below. They had no tent and little more fuel than was sufficient to cook their food, with only a moderate allowance of bedding, yet they returned sound and well, with the loss only of a little skin off their faces. They were shooting deer all the time. One of the men, having gone to a distance after a wounded deer, remained out all night, the temperature being 50° below zero, or 82° below the freezing point of water. He had neither blanket nor

axe, and wore only a thin leather or cloth coat. He nevertheless returned quite well next morning with part of the deer on his back, and, in reply to inquiries, said he had broken off some branches, cut them into shavings with his knife, made a small fire, *roasted* a piece of snow at it, and caught the water in a piece of the deer skin, drank it, and ate the contents of the marrow bones of the deer he had shot; then passed the night not uncomfortably. (A laugh.) A temperature of 45° below zero was not thought much of up there. Hundreds of people slept out in the woods when 50° or more below zero. He himself used often to be out all night with only a single blanket when it was 20° or 30° below zero. One great mistake that some men made was to put on a great thick coat before going to bed. The effect of this was the same as using a glove, in which the fingers were separated from each other, instead of a mitt, in which the fingers were all in one compartment. The thick coat separated the arm from the body with two folds of thick cloth, so that the heat of the one could not be communicated to the other. The Eskimos took off their coats when going to bed, the upper parts of their body being quite naked, placing their coats under or over them according to taste; of course they have a large fur blanket to cover them. When in the Arctic regions he slept in a snow-house when travelling with four other men. The bedding for the whole party weighed only 25 lbs. They slept like tops; they, however, turned from one side to the other occasionally, so that those outside might get warmth. Some of the Government expeditions have carried about 25 lbs. of bedding per man, each having a duffle-bag, which prevented him from obtaining any heat from or giving any to his neighbour. He found from the records of Arctic expeditions that the mean temperature of the four winter months at Bear Lake and Repulse Bay was within a small fraction as low as that at Melville Island and other places 600 miles farther north. This was a curious fact, for there seemed to be a pole of cold in about latitudes 65° to 67° north, extending from the east end of Bear Lake to Repulse Bay. The thermometers used had been all tested by Sir John Richardson and himself with freezing mercury, and were therefore considered standards, and there could be no mistake about their correctness. At Bear Lake the highest temperature in July was about 65° and the lowest in winter minus 72° , which gave a range of 137° . The reason why the shores of Hudson's Bay, although in many parts not in a high latitude, were unfavourable for growing grain of any kind, was because great quantities of ice came down from the north and remained in the bay all the summer, acting as a refrigerator. Thus

York Factory, in latitude 57° N., neither grain nor potatoes can

The Climates of the various British Colonies.

be grown ; and at Moose, although in the same latitude as the S of England, the climate is much colder, and ice may be seen short distance out to sea all summer. (Cheers.)

Mr. NIND, of Queensland, thought it was everybody's duty to say a few words on the subject if by so doing they could advance interests of the Colonies. He would endeavour to keep the matter rolling. He had never had experience of extreme Arctic cold, but had seen that kind of cold that freezes mercury. He was struck with the remark of Colonel Denison that thermometers were not the measure of one's feelings—perhaps not of the climate entirely. With these remarks he could agree. He had been where the thermometer stood at 10° , 15° , or 20° below zero, and had walked out and found no extreme cold or any inconvenience whatever ; but supposing a frost arose at 10° above zero, then greatcoats became necessary, as they were in this country when there was a damp cold. There were great degrees of heat which could be endured without inconvenience, as had been remarked. In the climatological observations brought forward that night, he was rather surprised to see that so high a temperature should be laid to some of the Austral Colonies ; for instance, in Brisbane, it was said, the highest temperature was 106° . He presumed that that meant in the shade. Having lived in the neighbourhood of Brisbane for nine years, he had never seen anything like that temperature, although he had closely observed when at home, and generally twice a day. The highest temperature he recorded was 105° , and at that time there was a bush-fire, which raised the heat considerably. On another occasion, going from North Queensland—it was an immensely hot day, and he was going in a steamer from Rockhampton to Brisbane—he was told the thermometer was over 100° in the shade. It was the hottest day he ever experienced in Australia, and he believed the temperature was recorded at 102° in Brisbane. He concluded the temperature referred to that evening by Mr. Symons must be correct ; but supposing 106° were recorded, he thought it would perhaps only once in six or ten years. Therefore that was not a criterion of what the climate was. In India it very much differed. In New South Wales it goes up to 115° in the interior. On the seacoast he was much surprised to learn that the temperature was so high ; he was astonished it did not go down lower. He had seen 36° recorded on the diagram ; he had recorded 29° within five miles of Brisbane. He had seen the ground white from frost as much as he had seen it in England from a fall of snow. There was one remark which to anybody engaged in tropical agriculture was a valuable one, that had reference to the observations

in Ceylon with regard to the coffee climate. In Queensland they had a climate suitable for the growth of sugar; they thought it also suitable for indigo, coffee, and other tropical products. They had found coffee succeed on an experimental scale, but they did not know whether it would succeed commercially. If they could get such observations as the reader had spoken of in Ceylon, they might be able to invest their money with a great deal more confidence. (Hear, hear.) That was, he thought, one of the most practical observations made that night. It was very extraordinary what errors prevailed with regard to the climate of the English Colonies. A gentleman who had been about the world a good deal and lived in two or three of them asked him what sort of climate Brisbane was. He said he had heard it was a bad climate for chest disorders, and any person with weak lungs, or likely to be affected with phthisis, would suffer there. He assured him Brisbane was a sort of sanatorium to the other Australian Colonies, and persons from Tasmania at all weak or affected with lung disease, from Victoria and New Zealand, went to Brisbane in the winter, and frequently persons went there from England. He was surprised, and on being asked who his informant was, said a bank manager. On being asked what he knew about it, the gentleman replied that he could not say, only that he had lived there. On being asked where he now resided, he said South Africa. He took leave to say that anything useful of the nature of scientific observations, that would bring under notice the climate of the Colonies might do much good, but that thermometers could not give a perfectly reliable state of the climate. He could not suppose for one moment, nor did he think that one station such as Wellington in New Zealand, or Brisbane in Queensland, was likely to give an idea of the whole of the climate of New Zealand. That, he thought, was an argument that could not be supported by facts. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. HENRY J. JOURDAIN (Mauritius) said that if any apology were necessary for troubling the meeting with a few remarks respecting so small a Colony as Mauritius, he would base it upon the fact that it was one of the very few to which the reader of the able paper under discussion had referred in terms of praise. He had been pleased to say that the Mauritius Meteorological Society had existed for upwards of a quarter of a century and had done good work. Having been Vice-President of that Society, he (Mr. Jourdain) thanked Mr. Symons for the favourable appreciation he had expressed of the work of the Society, but still more so for his recognition of the great services rendered to meteorological science by the able and indefatigable secretary, Dr. Meldrum, who a few

years back had visited England expressly to acquaint himself with the meteorological establishments of this country, and perfect himself for the post which he now so ably filled. Whilst acknowledging the correctness of the paper read as to the readings of the thermometer at Port Louis, he feared that those readings would greatly mislead any who might wish for information as to the climate of Mauritius. Anyone meditating a visit to that interesting little Colony must bear in mind that the figures given were those taken in the vicinity of Port Louis, whereas the town itself had, since 1867, ceased to be the principal residential part of the island, and in fact had been abandoned as a place of residence by almost all those whose means permitted of their living in the cooler climates of the interior. The majority of the Europeans now resided in the higher districts of the island, and the difference of climate thus obtained would be appreciated when he mentioned that at a distance of only six-and-a-half miles from the town one reached an altitude of nine hundred feet, so that in fact in the principal residential parts of the island they got a totally different reading of the thermometer from that which Mr. Symons had quoted. Living, as he (Mr. Jourdain) had done, at six-and-a-half miles from town, he had never, in the careful readings he had made of the thermometer, marked within many degrees of the maximum of 90 referred to, whilst the minimum had fallen very considerably below that stated by Mr. Symons. In fact, it might be adopted as a fact that in the cold season the difference of the readings at the distance from town he had mentioned varied from eight to ten degrees from those taken in Port Louis, and at a further distance of seven miles from the town—say at Curepipe—the difference was still more marked, so that Mauritius as a place of residence was not so hot a place as Mr. Symons' statistics would lead one to expect. With the last speaker, he (Mr. Jourdain) considered it a fallacy to take at any one spot the readings of the thermometer only as a ground on which to base an opinion of the climate of an entire Colony. Enlarging on the remarks respecting Mauritius contained in the printed copy of the paper he had read, Mr. Symons had spoken of the unselfish manner in which the Meteorological Society of Mauritius appeared to devote its energies more especially to the study of the storms in the Indian Ocean, and seemed disposed to taunt the Society with a disregard of those observations which would be of more practical utility to the Colony itself. He (Mr. Jourdain) did not think the society could either accept the praise offered for unselfishness, or admit the justice of the blame implied. He would call Mr. Symons' attention to the fact that the study of the storms

of the Indian Ocean was a matter of paramount importance to the Colony, at the same time that it enabled the society to compile storm-charts giving very valuable information to the world at large; it enabled them to deduce, by collating the reports of ships at different points in the Indian Ocean, much valuable information as to the progression of such storms; and thus afford warning to the Colony when such storms threatened to approach the island. The object of the Meteorological Society of Mauritius was not only to give a knowledge of the storms which from time to time raged in the Indian Ocean, but from that knowledge to derive information of practical utility respecting those terrible cyclones and hurricanes which for three months in the year threatened the Colony. To give some idea of what those storms occasionally were, he might state that in March, 1868, a cyclone visited the island, the devastation caused by which was of sufficient magnitude to attract the attention of the House of Commons,—an honour which was not often given to the little Colony. The force of the storm might be imagined when he stated that the principal railway bridge in the Colony, about two miles from town, was destroyed, one half of it, measuring 252 feet, and weighing no less than 220 tons, being bodily uplifted and hurled to the bottom of a ravine below. If a weight of iron like that could be so dealt with by the wind, it was not difficult to judge of what was the effect upon the sugar estates and private dwellings. To prepare for the approach of such unwelcome visitors, it was necessary to obtain the fullest information respecting the storms of the Indian Ocean, and thus the work of the Meteorological Society referred to was not of the purely unselfish and, to the Colony, useless character which Mr. Symons appeared to think. By a recent mail he (Mr. Jourdain) had been advised of the establishment in Mauritius of an Acclimatisation Society under the patronage of his Excellency the Governor, and he felt sure that the President of that Society would willingly afford every information which Mr. Symons might desire to have respecting the climate of the Colony. Before sitting down he felt bound to remark that, whereas Mr. Symons, in his paper just read, complained much of the indefiniteness and want of uniformity which he found to exist generally in the statistics afforded to him and the methods by which they were obtained, he (Mr. Jourdain) could not help thinking that Mr. Symons had fallen into a similar error himself as soon as he had travelled away from the simple readings of the thermometer. Observations based on the thermometer alone tended to give very indefinite ideas of the climate of a place, and, unless accompanied by barometrical and other observations, were apt to be deceptive rather than useful. What

could be more indefinite than the opinion volunteered at the close of the paper, that all consumptive patients should be sent to Australia. Was it the voyage that would do them good? That might be; but Mr. Symons ignored the fact that Australia was a vast continent with varying climes, some of which might be suited to consumptive persons whilst others would be simply death to them. He had heard of parts of Australia where the atmosphere was at times charged with sand, which surely could not be suitable for persons suffering from phthisis, and it was to be regretted, if the information were intended to be of any practical utility, that something more definite had not been stated than the simple recommendation of Australia. As to the value of the suggestion in a medical point of view he would offer no opinion, as he saw many eminent members of the profession present who could fight their own battles; all he (Mr. Jourdain) wished to do was to protest against the vagueness and indefinite character of the opinion expressed. One word more, and he had finished. Mr. Symons had stated that he found from all his records that the hottest spot was a little place in South Australia. From the figures given in the paper that would appear to be the result; but Mr. Symons had paraphrased this statement by adding that this was then the hottest spot in all the British Empire. This again was indefinite, and he (Mr. Jourdain) was disposed to think, inaccurate; and he would ask Mr. Symons what he knew of the temperature of that little British possession at the south of the Red Sea. Aden was a part of the British Empire, and he would be glad to know what was Mr. Symons' experience of the temperature there. He hoped he had not unfairly criticised the paper read; it was highly interesting, and evidenced much painstaking research. He had no desire to find fault with it, but at the same time thought that the compiler, when bringing grave charges against the Colonies generally for the indefinite character of their observations, should have taken care not to fall into a similar error, and have given more definite information respecting the climates of the Colonies than was contained in the mere readings of the thermometer.

Mr. Scott, F.R.S., Director of the Meteorological Office, had never been in any Colony, but could speak of what the Home Government had done towards the organisation of the meteorological systems in the Colonies. He had not heard any mention whatever of the fact of the Toronto observatory having been established by the Home Government; General Lefroy having been an officer under home pay, without anything to do with the Colonial Government. At the time Sir James Ross went out in

1840 to determine the magnetical data for the Antarctic regions, certain institutions were established by the Home Government, by which they were no longer maintained. Two of them are, however, still in existence, and are supported out of the Colonial funds. With reference to the Mauritius, he thought he was correct in saying that the origin of the Meteorological Society there was by a bequest. There was a certain amount of money left by will, from which the whole system had arisen. He knew while Mr. Meldrum was over here recently he spoke to that effect. He thought Mr. Symons had treated West Australia rather harshly. It was a poor Colony as regarded the inhabitants per square mile, and had great difficulties to contend with. He knew Mr. Weld, the late Governor, had tried very hard to do something, but at first could not from want of money; latterly, however, a commencement had been made to organise a system throughout the country. The question about Canada was rather difficult at the present moment. Some of the influential members of the Canadian Government proposed to give up the whole existing system, and to trust entirely to Washington for meteorological reports and storm warnings. An influential member of the Canadian Government had maintained that doctrine in conversation with himself. Any person who had paid any attention to meteorology must support Mr. Symons' remarks as to the importance, if possible, of getting a uniform system; but he feared that Mr. Symons' panacea of a conference would hardly secure it. He scarcely thought that the views of Mr. Kingston as to the measures advisable for Mauritius were worth three hundred times that of a man living in that Colony, simply because Mr. Kingston had no other experience than what the climates of Canada afforded. The reason why Neumayer had proposed ten feet above the ground for the screen at Melbourne was that in Germany, by Dove's advice, the height was twelve feet, and he, being a German, followed the German practice. There was no uniform practice which could be introduced now which was suitable for general adoption. He felt confident that Stevenson's screen would be quite useless in some countries. It was good for several climates like those pointed out, but it would not do for the Indian climate. However, those were mere questions of scientific matters, on which there were differences of opinion. He was sure that all meteorologists would be greatly indebted to Mr. Symons for taking the trouble to collect the materials giving the abstracts he had done, and showing where they could go and find fuller information. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. CAPEL HANBURY: I would confine the few remarks I have to make to the Australian Colonies, and of them more particularly to

South Australia and Tasmania. Concerning the former, though the heat there is oppressive—it having been whilst I was there, in January, 1876, as much as 108° and 109° in the shade, and it frequently becomes warmer than this—there is a wholesome dryness about it; and I remember meeting out at dinner a young friend who, hailing from England I fraternised much with, who assured me that he left the old country on account of a weak chest and lungs, and now all he suffered from was occasionally a sore throat. The climate of South Australia, more particularly round about Adelaide, I believe, from all I could gather, to be efficacious for consumption and chest complaints; whereas, though it may be very hot in Adelaide, one has the various seaside places, such as Glenelg, Port Victor, &c. to get sea-breezes from; and I experienced some change from the hot weather by visiting up in the mountains near Adelaide—I mean at the Woodhouse Mount—where I spent pleasant few days with one whom I am sure all colonists remember with respect—I mean the late Sir Richard Davies Hanson—where though thousands of miles from the old country I met with an English welcome, and found myself in grounds where nearly everything that grows over here flourished. With regard to Tasmania those who have visited that charming and beautiful island know that it has one of the most equable climates in the world; but cannot do better than quote from the remarks made concerning it by its late Governor, Sir Charles DuCane, whose views on this subject I most thoroughly endorse, and feel he does not at all too highly paint it: “I do not hesitate myself to pronounce it to be as near perfection for English constitutions as we can hope to find on the face of this globe. Everything in Tasmania, it has been well said, is more English than is England herself; and her climate I should say, has all the good features of that of old England, with little or none of its undeniably bad ones. . . . But it was during the latter part of summer and greater portion of autumn that we found the climate to be at its best; day after day would succeed each other of cloudless sky and balmy breezes.” Though my experience of the four Colonies I have visited leads me to conclude that the two I have mentioned are perhaps preferable to all others, remembering a stay of a few days at Mount Victoria in the Blue Mountains, New South Wales, I can quite believe that in both the Colonies of Victoria and New South Wales, though the cities themselves may not be salubrious, it is so up country. I would mention particularly refer to a place called Yarra Flat. In driving out on one occasion with the present Chief Justice, Sir Francis Smith I was struck with the bright blue sky and balmy air of Tasman

That was the sanatorium of the Colonies, and a great many people from other Colonies went there. Both South Australia and Tasmania, I thoroughly believe, are very health-invigorating Colonies. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BONWICK quite endorsed the remarks made about hasty generalisation. He would defend Mr. Symons with regard to the observation of the part of Australia being the hottest. Mr. Symons had certainly alluded to thermometrical heat, in which sense the heat of some parts of Australia would be higher than any portion of the Red Sea. The same remark applied to Tasmania. It would be absurd to generalise about Tasmanian climate, inasmuch as there was no place of the same area perhaps having such differences. He cited the eastern coast, with 15 inches of rain on one part; while the western had nearly 100 inches of rain; Launceston, in the north, 85 inches; Hobart Town, in the south, about 22 inches; Hampshire Isles, 65 inches. If they took the thermometrical condition, they would find this also changed considerably. Taking it as a whole, Tasmania might be truly called the sanatorium of the Southern Hemisphere, or even of the world. With regard to private observers. Long before Government took up the question of meteorology, undoubtedly the colonists did their duty. In South Australia, from 1837, he found observations had been taken, not in one place, but in several places. He alluded to a Quaker family in the Mount Barker district of South Australia keeping daily observations of the weather from their first arrival. The same thing could be said of Western Australia. A poor Colony it certainly had been, but by no means a poor Colony for resources. If the people were true to themselves, it would be one of the first Colonies for the extent of its population. But meteorological observations had been kept on the banks of the Swan from the year 1830, with only a few interruptions. If they took Tasmania from a very early date, the same thing might be said of the labours of colonists. When he arrived there in 1841, he knew of some ten places where observations were regularly kept, and those taken in Hobart Town were most faithfully conducted. The observations extended also to notices of magnetic variations. In Victoria the same thing might be said. The early squatters were many of them men of intelligence, and interested in such questions. They kept rain gauges, and the thermometers were duly noticed. The acclimatisation efforts in Victoria had been associated with meteorology. The *Melbourne Argus* newspaper had always been the earnest advocate of acclimatisation, and the consistent friend and reporter of scientific progress; and in connection with the scientific progress of the

Colony it had been asked why currants were not made in South Australia when they could be grown so well. The simple reason was, that labour had proved too expensive. He knew that the exportation of currants had been tried in Adelaide. One thing had not been noticed sufficiently—namely, the effect of climate upon the acclimatisation of plants in the Colonies. How much trouble and money would have been saved in India had this question of climate been attended to! In the attempt to acclimatise the American cotton plant, the most unsuitable places were often selected for the trial. He thought if they could get a classification of climate as adapted to specific plants, a great service would be rendered to new Colonies in their work of acclimatisation.

Dr. HAVILAND could not leave that night without recording his hearty thanks to Mr. Symons for his able paper. Having been a humble student in climatology for a number of years, and having been mixed up with those members of his profession who had made a similar study, he knew how the reform advocated by Mr. Symons was appreciated by them. He knew that that night Mr. Symons had made a great step. He had, as it were, brought into a focus all that was at present known of the thermometry and rainfall climatology of the Colonies. The way he had laid the facts before them would induce a large number to take more interest in that important subject than they had done. Not only would it do that, but it would create a new interest throughout the great British Empire. With regard to climate in relation to disease, he thought that almost anything like accurate opinion must be premature at the present stage of our knowledge. With respect to the climate of Australia as being conducive to health to persons having a consumptive tendency, he knew there was a diversity of opinion on that matter. Just before leaving home he received a pamphlet from a medical man in Australia telling them not to go there, and setting forth that the mortality from phthisis was ten to twelve thousand more than what it was in England, the reason being that the whole subject had not been thoroughly well canvassed and well studied. He did hope they would all live long enough to hear Mr. Symons give them another paper, and one that would elucidate the figures given that evening—elucidate them by explaining them according to the physical geography of the Colonies of the British Empire. For, after all, it was the physical geography of the country which taught them to expect certain phenomena, and without that knowledge of the physical system it was impossible for them to predicate whether the Colonies were fit for certain diseases. There was one observation passed in the number given by Mr.

Symons that was upon the hygrometrical condition of the atmosphere. Gentlemen had mentioned that in cold, dry, still atmosphere they felt little or no ill effects from the cold ; but, on the contrary, where moisture was mixed up with either heat or cold, inconveniences were at once experienced. Now, in the course of his investigations with regard to geographical institutions, he had found some very remarkable circumstances attending certain conditions of the atmosphere. For instance, he selected the condition of the atmosphere immediately superincumbent upon large areas of seasonally flooded rivers. It was found that a certain set of diseases occurred at that period, and which could be marked out throughout England as plainly as the rivers themselves. They well knew that the electrical condition of the atmosphere was an important condition to study. But, although there were vast numbers of observations from barometers, thermometers, and other atmospherical weather glasses, still they were deficient in anything like accuracy as to electric changes. He hoped that Mr. Symons would throughout the British Empire urge the necessity for taking observations upon the most important meteorological phenomena. It was a subject they were bound to study, and he believed that as they were studying climate in relation to disease, they must ascertain the difference in the condition of the atmosphere that made people feel so differently at one time from another. It was known that that difference of feeling was so appreciable and evident that it was a common and daily remark, and yet there was nothing, and no instruments had as yet been devised, that would indicate that difference in the atmosphere which caused such excessive changes. He knew, as a medical man, how people suffered from it. Therefore he thought that the electrical condition of the atmosphere and other observations should be taken, and that something should be ascertained about it of which we were all almost totally ignorant. He looked upon Mr. Symons as one who had assisted most heartily in that great system of observation which he believed would prove useful to a still greater subject—that was, the relation of climate to disease. He had thoroughly enjoyed the paper, for which he thanked Mr. Symons heartily. (Cheers.)

Dr. LANGDON DOWN attended the meeting as a humble listener and learner, but he had been greatly gratified by listening to the paper read. He had been instructed also by the discussion. He must say, however, if he had any very clear notions that the right thing to order for every phthisical patient was to leave this country, his doubts would be much increased by the discussion of the evening, for one heard such a contrariety of opinions, that he should have

great doubts as to which of the sanatoria to send his patients to. He thought that Dr. Haviland had hit the right nail on the head; that the simple thermometrical readings were not those which influenced the sanitary condition of the place, and that there had been one series of observations which of course had been omitted necessarily from the paper—that was the nature of the soil; because nothing was so well known as this, that they could manufacture phthisis in England as readily as grow mushrooms. It was only necessary to crowd people together on ill-drained clay, and phthisis would necessarily be produced. Therefore it was absurd to say that they should send patients to such and such a Colony without knowing at the same time the nature of the soil on to which they would be led. He took it to be the true story, as a medical friend in Sydney told him—"To all your friends sent to Sydney by water, ask them to return by same route again as quickly as possible: the benefit is derived from the voyage." He thought that that sanatorium was not the particular one visited by Mr. Hanbury and others. The paper only professed to give data, which the reader had accumulated very perseveringly and brought into a narrow focus. He should hesitate making those remarks had not Mr. Symons stepped down from the chair and given the medical profession very wholesale advice as to what they were to do with their patients. He did think that in any paper or any meteorological investigations which should have reference to the health of the subject, the words which had fallen from Dr. Haviland—that the physical geography of the country must be studied at the same time that the thermometrical and barometrical readings—were observed. He concluded by thanking Mr. Symons for his able paper—minus the advice he had given to the medical profession. (A laugh.)

Mr. MAWLEY quite confirmed what Mr. Symons had said as to the different ways in which the observations were taken in different Colonies. The great point required was uniformity, because then there would be practical thermometric observations taken under identical conditions. They could compare them together and obtain some idea of the heat or the coldness of climates. Still, they had not much to boast of in this country, for it was only recently that any uniform system had been adopted. Supposing he were a Colonial observer, and were to come over to England and go to Kew and also to Greenwich, he would see something like what was exhibited to the meeting used at Greenwich, and also a stand used at Kew. They would not say that that was a satisfactory, or comparatively satisfactory, thing. Then as to what Dr. Haviland remarked about

atmospherical electricity being a thing known little about; he, however, thought, on the other hand, that the doctors knew little about the electricity of the human system. (Laughter.)

Mr. STRACHAN having a different occupation to many of those who had addressed the meeting, perhaps his experience would be altogether different from theirs, and might tend to throw a little light on the subject. During the last twenty years he had had considerable experience in working upon meteorological data, and would concur in the way that Mr. Symons had expressed so much regret that greater progress had not been made in perfecting the means of observation, and that they had not been more extensively employed. He looked, therefore, upon Mr. Symons' paper from a meteorological point of view. Knowing the vast number of works of meteorological literature that he had had to ransack and go through in order to prepare the paper, he asked, who could have done it better? And in putting that question he left the answer to them and to meteorologists generally, feeling sure the answer must be satisfactory to Mr. Symons, whatever it was. (Hear, hear.) It might be said that the paper was a peculiar one. To meteorologists it was; but to the Royal Colonial Institute, having its attention specially called to Colonial matters, it, of course, was an appropriate one. But, in point of fact, it was not a Colonial question at all; it was a question for the whole world. While they were considering the meteorology of the Colonies, they were, in a great measure, going into the whole question of the meteorology of the globe; for those Colonies were scattered all over the globe. If there were a satisfactory knowledge of meteorology, which they would no doubt gain in the course of a few years, the question of meteorology of the Colonies would be merged naturally in that of the meteorology of the globe. They would have charts by which they could go and ascertain the temperature of all parts of the globe—the temperature both maximum and minimum, rainfall, winds, and the other meteorological elements which made up climates; but they should have also those physical features delineated on our maps, which were so essential for ascertaining the character of the climate of different countries. There was one omission that had occurred to him. Mr. Symons had not taken into consideration the winds, for, as had been pointed out by Dr. Rae, wind in many countries was the main element of the climate. He was exceedingly pleased to have heard Dr. Rae's remarks, who had travelled in the Dominion of Canada, and had made observations there which no one else either before or since had made. Those observations made at Fort Hope and Fort Confidence afforded the only information that we

possessed of that part of the world, and they owed them entirely to Dr. Rae. He (Mr. Strachan) had had an opportunity of examining the meteorological observations made by a great many travellers, and had never examined any observations made by any traveller that came up to the perfection of those of Dr. Rae's; and it happened rather fortunately that he was able to say that in his presence, for Dr. Rae had had the extreme liberality of placing the whole of his meteorological documents at the service of the Meteorological Office, through which papers he (Mr. Strachan) had had the privilege of going and of reducing and preparing the observations for discussion. So he could support in the main the whole of what Dr. Rae had said. It might perhaps be necessary to take a little off the 72° and reduce it to 70° . Not only were his observations put down in a beautiful style, but they would bear the strictest scrutiny throughout—a rare merit for observations made under such difficulties, showing what a good observer Dr. Rae was, and giving great weight to his opinions and great value to what he had said that evening. In conclusion he said, if the paper had not exactly come up to their expectations, they must remember that Mr. Symons had had to go through the subject and put the whole of his investigations, which must have been heavy, into an epitome, and had succeeded in doing that with admirable effect. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. RAE explained that when he took the observations referred to it was many years ago, at which time the freezing point of mercury was believed to be $89\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ or 40° below zero. More recent experiments had fixed the freezing point of mercury at 88° below zero, so that a temperature which he had formerly correctly called 72° was now considered as only 70° or $70\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ below zero.

The PRESIDENT: Ladies and gentlemen,—A point struck me which has been attended to during this discussion by Mr. Bonwick and Dr. Haviland, and that is a most important agent in nature, and which has not been referred to in this most able paper read by Mr. Symons, and is never alluded to in meteorological reports, and that is magnetic currency and electricity. No one can doubt that Dr. Haviland is right when he says there is some condition of the air and atmosphere, apart from temperature and moisture, which affects human beings. I have no doubt that physiologists will say that there are conditions of the atmosphere, apart from the sun and the air itself, which affect the growth and the decay of organisms of all sorts. I feel very confident that before long medical men—even Dr. Down—will perhaps make use of electricity as a process of medical cure. I know some medical men make use of it already, and I believe with success. I have no doubt, therefore, that

meteorologists generally will systematically at meteorological stations, in the future, take electric and magnetic observations. But we in this Society are principally concerned with the Colonies, and for that reason it is not for us, I think, so much to consider what may be the wide scope of meteorology of the future as to what will be the practice of it as compared with the present state of science in the British Colonies. Now, I am sorry to hear from Mr. Symons' paper that the state of most Colonies is backward in that respect. I think it is a subject which would be well within our province to deal with; and I hope that the Council of this Society may take into consideration the propriety perhaps of addressing the different Colonial governments, and calling their attention to what is a most useful branch of investigation, and one which certainly can be done at a small expenditure for instruments; and I think that the "expenditure for brains" will be small in comparison with the value of the results that may be obtained. There was another point that struck me in reference to the remarks made about climate—that is, the variety of climates in similar latitudes in different parts of the world. Now, Mr. Nind, I think it was, spoke of frosts at Brisbane—which seems to be in about latitude 26° or 27° south—well, when you come to Europe, I dare say you saw in the newspapers of to-day or yesterday that the people of Athens were wonderfully surprised at a fall of snow, and went to their doors to look at it as if it were an eclipse, and wondered at seeing it rest on the shoulders of the people as they went along the streets. Cape Matapan, the most southern point of the European continent, appears to be about 36° north, 10° farther from the equator than Brisbane, where it appears there is often frost. So that the climate of the South of Europe would appear to be much warmer than that of corresponding latitudes in Australia. Another matter with regard to climates, which is perhaps interesting and may not have occurred to some people with regard to Canada, which is undoubtedly a cold country. There are severe winters there, but there is no town in North America so far north as Paris; therefore, we do not expect to experience so severe a winter in Paris as Quebec. But these variations in climate extend with marked results over much shorter distances. In the autumn the plains of California are burning hot. The temperature, no doubt, was not taken in such an elaborate apparatus as that exhibited here; but I was informed that the thermometer had been 110° in the hall of an hotel there on the day I arrived at it. That is only eighty miles from San Francisco, where you could not go out in the evening without two coats: at least, one was not sufficient, unless it was a thick one, when the sun went down.

That is a low latitude ; $37^{\circ} 47' 57''$ is the latitude of San Francisco. Now I may, I am sure, with your entire approbation, thank Mr. Symons most cordially for his most interesting and able paper. (Cheers.)

The vote of thanks was unanimously given.

Mr. Symons tendered them his thanks for the way in which they had received the paper. At that late hour he was unable to reply to all the remarks made. The first objection almost amounted to saying that thermometers were no use. That was an unsatisfactory opinion for meteorologists to hear ; but it was perhaps due to the fact that the speakers had taken the thermometer values by themselves, and had not noticed all that his paper had said. He gave certain temperatures, but used one term over and over again. It was perhaps a slightly technical term—"humidity"—which meant the proportion of moisture which the air contained relatively to the maximum quantity which it could contain. What the paper said with reference to extreme heat was just as true with respect to extreme cold. Englishmen could not stand damp, heat, or cold. It might be that this humidity was the unknown something which Dr. Haviland hinted at. It might be that that belonged to the Great Unknown ; but they did not know that in this country, if they had a sultry close day with 78° for the wet thermometer, and 80° for the dry, they did not know what to do with themselves ; but, if the wet thermometer went down to 70° , they were as happy as possible. Meteorologists take the temperature *and* the humidity along with it, and he ventured to think that the figures given in the paper would be found in accordance with the sensations felt by people living in those districts, if they would take into account the humidity as well as the temperature. That of itself disposed of the question with respect to the ease with which people bear the low temperature in Canada. With regard to Dr. Rae's remarks, he pointed out an excessively low temperature that occurred in the centre of the Dominion of Canada, and stated that that temperature was lower than still farther north. He believed that was so ; and it was the same in Asiatic Russia, where the greatest cold was reported from Yakutsk, in Siberia, in latitude 62° ; so that in both the Old and the New World there was severe cold at about 65° of N. latitude. He believed it was the fact that the coldest temperatures were not usually found at the highest latitudes. With respect to Brisbane, he did not wish to impugn the readings of Mr. Nind's instruments, but would say that, so long as people would expose the thermometer in different ways, so would they have discordant results. (Hear, hear.) He said that they occasionally had white frost and snow, and official records showed that the air temperature fell to $84\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$. In

this country, if that temperature occurred, we generally had white frost. So, as far as could be seen, Mr. Nind's figures corroborated those given by the central station. Mr. Nind said that one station was no guide; but why did not the Colony of Queensland get others? They were all close to Brisbane. They gave no information as to the temperature in other and remote parts of the Colony, and if they did not give it, it could not be quoted. With regard to the Mauritius, objection was taken that the figures quoted did not represent the climate in which the aristocracy of the island resided. The answer to that was that the official observatory used to be situated at Port Louis, and that was the only place of which he had full reports. With respect to the temperature of Aden, no observations had ever been made. He had never seen any records published of the temperature or pressure, or anything else. To show the difficulty of getting that sort of thing to work well, he might mention that while he was compiling the tables he saw the necessity for having a station at Aden, and asked Mr. Silver what could be done. He replied that he would buy the instruments and try to find an observer. They were bought and sent to his offices, and had been there ever since, simply because no observer could be got for them. That showed that everything was done for Aden *except* getting an observer; and if that Institute could get anyone out there to take the observations, they would confer great benefit on meteorology. Mention was made that he had not taken more notice of certain observations of what were called the British Colonial Observatories. He did not wish to say much, because he considered that they involved the greatest waste in meteorology that had ever been incurred. Costly instruments were sent out, and a large body of men were drafted off to stations established for magnetical and meteorological purposes at several places in the British Colonies. Those results were sent over to this country and were published *in extenso* in large quarto volumes, but he confessed that, so far as his own knowledge went, the information which any man could extract from them on climatology might be contained in a volume of fifty pages. Probably good service had been done to terrestrial magnetism by those observatories; but he denied that, as far as climatology went, they had been of any use commensurate with their cost. As an investment of money it was the worst one he ever heard of. With regard to West Australia, it was a poor country, but he thought it could afford £50; and as to not giving due credit to West Australia for what it had done, he had not been aware that it had done anything, and when he found the Government did not even reply to a circular on the subject, he thought he

was entitled to say what he had said. It had been stated that the Stevenson thermometer stand would not do for all climates. He thought otherwise, but he would even give that up to secure the one thing wanted, *uniformity*. If people liked to hang their thermometers up in the sunshine he should not care, but, if so, he trusted that they would be similar and hung the same height from the ground all the world over. With respect to the collection of observations mentioned from Tasmania, Mr. Bonwick quoted a lot of valuable figures ; but it would have been well had he stated where those figures were to be found. He desired to make corrections in his paper and to make additions to it. He wanted the list of works for the end of the paper completed, and rendered a credit to that Institute and useful to science. Gentlemen should, if they could, add to the shorthand writer's notes a list of publications and the place where they could be found. It had been stated that early meteorological observations were made by members of the Society of Friends. Meteorology owed a great deal to the Society of Friends. Howard was a Quaker, and meteorological observations were made in nearly every Quaker school in the country, and there was no doubt that the establishment of those stations in the Colonies had simply been the natural outcome of the learning they had in their own country. As to the question of the rival sanatoria, his experience was that the medical profession never did agree with anybody else. (Laughter.) He did not therefore expect them to agree with him. He never spoke without book ; and as far as Australia was concerned, he had used the term generally without entering into details of local climate, because he supposed no person going to Australia on a sanatorial tour would go to Port Darwin. He expressed himself as he did because he was often asked as to the place to which he should go ; and there had not been a single case which had come under his notice of a person in a comparatively early stage of consumption starting on a voyage to Australia—meaning the whole of that country—there had not been a single exception to those persons coming back again in health. Whether it was the sea voyage or the climate he could not say, but the result had been, without one single exception, satisfactory. Therefore he was not without foundation in making the few remarks he did. He concluded by thanking them kindly for listening to his observations. (Applause.)

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG, Hon. Sec., announced that at the next meeting the paper would be on the West Indies, by Mr. Neville Lubbock.

The meeting then separated.

REPORT OF THE
PUBLIC MEETING
ON THE SUBJECT OF THE PROPOSED
IMPERIAL MUSEUM
FOR THE
COLONIES AND INDIA,

Held at the Mansion House, on Tuesday, March 20th, 1877.

The Right Hon. the LORD MAYOR in the chair. Among those present were the following: The Right Hon. E. P. Bouverie; Sir Albert Sassoon K.C.S.I.; Sir John Rose Bart, K.C.M.G.; Sir George Campbell, K.C.S.I., M.P.; Major-General Sir H. C. B. Daubeney, K.C.B.; Lieut. Colonel Bousfield, M.P.; Professor Fawcett, M.P.; Alderman William McArthur, M.P.; W. Hussey Vivian, Esq., M.P.; Alexander McArthur, Esq., M.P.; Philip L. Twells, Esq., M.P.; Sir James Lawrence, Bart, M.P.; Charles T. Ritchie, Esq., M.P.; Sir Douglas Forsyth, K.C.S.I.; Lieut. Colonel Gourley, M.P.; Sir William Armstrong; Arthur Otway, Esq.; Sir Rawson W. Rawson, K.C.M.G. and C.B.; Sir Antonio Brady; W. Tayler, Esq., B.C.S.; William Henty, Esq. (late Colonial Secretary Tasmania); Lieut. Colonel G. T. Denison (Canada); Alderman Sir John Bennett; Myles Patterson, Esq. (Victoria); R. W. Gillespie, Esq. (Governor of the Canada Company); A. R. Campbell-Johnstone, Esq.; W. Westgarth, Esq.; S. W. Silver, Esq.; James Farmer, Esq. (New Zealand); G. Molineux, Esq.; Hugh M. Matheson, Esq.; Augustus Wolfen, Esq.; Jacob Montefiore, Esq.; J. L. Ohlson, Esq. (West India Committee); P. H. Nind, Esq., Queensland; Alderman G. S. Nottage; James A. Youl, Esq., C.M.G.; Hyde Clarke, Esq.; Captain George Gilmore (Tasmania); Captain W. J. Wyatt (Cape of Good Hope); John A'Deane, Esq. (New Zealand); H. E. Montgomerie, Esq.; William Purdy, Esq. (Manager, Bank of South Australia); Dr. Buchanan (New Zealand); J. Duncan Thomson, Esq. (Cape of Good Hope); D. Tallerman, Esq.; L. W. Thrupp, Esq. (South Australia); H. W. Freeland, Esq.; T. M. Harrington, Esq. (Manager, Bank of Australasia); H. B. T. Strangways, Esq. (late South Australia); George Armytage, Esq. (Victoria, Australia); F. F. Armytage, Esq. (Victoria, Australia); T. L. Stahlschmidt, Esq. (British Columbia); Frederick J. Dore, Esq. (Canadian Government Agent); John H. O'Neill, Esq. (Agent for the Government of

Quebec); John Fleming, Esq., C.S.I.; E. Dent, Esq.; J. F. Kelsey, Esq. (Queensland); Francis Farnan, Esq. (Master of Clothworkers' Company); Alderman Allen; William Nathan, Esq. (British Columbia); Henry J. Jourdain, Esq. (Mauritius); Abraham Hyams, Esq. (Jamaica); Henry Beit, Esq. (New South Wales); Neville Lubbock, Esq.; E. Noel Walker, Esq. (Assistant Colonial Secretary, Jamaica); Nathaniel Cork, Esq. (Manager, Commercial Banking Company of Sydney), H. A. Ellis, Esq.; Henry Wellings, Esq. (late Hong Kong); C. Mundoy Burtin, Esq.; Robert Milligan, Esq.; Robert Fauntleroy, Esq., J.P. (Jamaica); Kerry Nicholls, Esq.; Emile Levita, Esq.; Frederick Fearon, Esq. (Secretary, Trust and Loan Company of Canada); William Walker, Esq.; H. W. Jewesbury, Esq.; T. F. Quin, Esq. (West Africa); W. Cleaver, Esq.; G. R. Godson, Esq.; James Thin, Esq.; F. P. Labilliere, Esq.; Henry C. Dring, Esq.; M. Ray, Esq.; G. Aston, Esq.; Arthur Rigby, Esq.; N. P. Simes, Esq.; General Frederick Cotton, C.S.I.; W. G. Tipton, Esq.; Frederick Tooth, Esq.; Thomas Archer, Esq.; W. Rutherford, Esq.; T. Jackson, Esq.; T. J. Gribble, Esq.; W. A. Brodribb, Esq. (Cape of Good Hope); Edward Baddeley, Esq.; Spencer Compton, Esq.; Dr. M. Keene; R. Sutherland, Esq.; Stephen Taylor, Esq.; R. Ryall, Esq. (Cape of Good Hope); Henry Broadhurst, Esq.; F. Pincott, Esq.; G. Sett, Esq.; J. H. Driver, Esq.; F. W. Campin, Esq. (President Labour Representation League); R. Biggs, Esq.; Alexander Watson, Esq.; Henry R. Hollingshead, Esq.; Neville C. Sendall, Esq.; Thomas Glanville (Jamaica); R. Benjamin, Esq.; James Rae, Esq.; P. F. Morgan, Esq.; William Dalrymple, Esq.; James Fergusson, Esq.; F. Banks, Esq.; Thomas Sandy, Esq.; William H. Ellis, Esq.; J. C. Penny, Esq.; J. J. Crawley, Esq.; W. Hatthill, Esq.; Edward Walker, Esq.; W. B. Whittingham, Esq.; W. T. Deverell, Esq.; P. Henwood, Esq.; Rev. A. G. L'Estrange; Joseph Scales, Esq.; Thomas Parsons, Esq.; H. J. Tritton, Esq.; Surgeon-General Balfour; H. C. McDonald, Esq.; Major W. E. O'Brien (Canada); Alfred Saddington, Esq.; H. T. Pearse, Esq.; Robert Moore, Esq.; William Vivian, Esq.; William Clifford, Esq.; John Currie, Esq.; T. S. Richardson, Esq.; C. Benton, Esq.; Edward William Palin, jun., Esq.; Edward E. Meakin, Esq.; Frank Platt, Esq.; W. J. Marshall, Esq.; J. Bruce Gillon, Esq.; Professor F. J. Candy; Albert Allen, Esq.; Benjamin J. Timms, Esq.; Captain G. H. Reinecker; Rev. J. Browne; H. Seymour King, Esq.; C. W. Austin, Esq.; M. J. Wolloan, Esq.; T. Goode, Esq.; R. J. Turnbull, Esq.; J. B. Phear, Esq.; Edward Chapman, Esq.; Henry S. Ellis, Esq.; J. Harvey, Esq.; L. C. Stevenson, Esq. (Victoria); John Tait, Esq.; B. S. Lloyd, Esq.; Hugh L. Taylor, Esq.; Walter M. Hitchcock, Esq.; Herbert M. Whitehead, Esq.; Thomas Hamilton, Esq.; W. G. Lardner, Esq. (West Indies); W. Hall, Esq.; Peter Sharp, Esq.; James V. H. Irwin, Esq.; J. Stirling Donald, Esq.; Arthur L. Young, Esq.; Edward B. Underhill, Esq.; Arthur N. Little, Esq.; William Codler, Esq.; Thomas Callin, Esq.; A. Ferkine, Esq.; W. Hughes Hughes, Esq. (South Australia); Augustus B. Abraham, Esq. (late New Zealand); J. H. Selwyn, Esq.; T. H. Adams, Esq.; J. J. Knight, Esq.; Frederick W. Stone, Esq. (Canada); Dr. A. Beattie; George P. Stokes, Esq.; William Sims,

Esq. ; R. B. Swinton, Esq. ; Enoch Taylor, Esq. ; T. D. Sullivan, Esq. : Andrew Luff, Esq. ; F. Perigal, Esq. ; Charles Greenswade, Esq. ; Arthur Grote, Esq. ; George Bridge, Esq. ; E. Dent, Esq. ; Lionel Ridpath, Esq. ; Rev. A. Styleman Herring ; F. A. Manning, Esq. ; Stephen J. Kinnaird, Esq. ; F. Algar, Esq. ; Joseph Parker, Esq. ; Thomas Paterson, Esq. ; T. Roger Smith, Esq. ; Nicholas Nelson, Esq. ; George Pepler, Esq. ; R. W. Banker, Esq. ; N. L. Pennant, Esq. ; Captain Townshead, R.M. ; John Davies, Esq., M.A. ; W. H. Walsh, Esq. ; T. Morgan, Esq. ; Rev. J. Long ; A. Munro. Esq. ; James Marriott, Esq. ; A. Fenvor, Esq. ; William Henry Brooks, Esq. ; William Watson, Esq. ; J. Razdar, Esq. ; Professor W. H. Hechler ; L. Mortlock, Esq. ; E. T. Penfold, Esq. ; Lieut.-Colonel Laurie ; T. Munzy, Esq. ; E. A. Franks, Esq. ; George Wills, Esq. ; Frederick Young, Esq., &c. &c.

THE LORD MAYOR : Gentlemen,—It has been the custom of my predecessors upon every occasion which is of interest to the public, to comply with the request made for the use of any portion of the Mansion-House. In accordance with the request of a very influential deputation, this Hall is now occupied, and it is a source of great satisfaction to myself, not only upon this occasion to comply with that wish, but upon every one where the interests of those for whom we are concerned more or less, are in any way at stake. Now this does appear to me to be an occasion well suited for the expression of public opinion, and I was very pleased to have the opportunity afforded me of complying with the request and the wishes of so many influential gentlemen. My friend Mr. Young has something to say to you, and after that I shall go on with the business before us.

MR. FREDERICK YOUNG : My Lord Mayor and gentlemen,—Before you proceed with the business of this meeting, I should like to detain you for one minute, while I mention what perhaps almost appears to be a work of supererogation, that there are a large number of gentlemen unable to be present. Among a number of others from whom I have received communications showing their sympathy with, and their desire to support, the movement which we have met together to-day to promote, I particularly wish to mention the name of Mr. Goschen, senior Member for the City, who says he quite appreciates the value and importance of the object we have in view, and much regrets that it is out of his power to attend this meeting. Mr. Samuel Morley, whom we put down for the first resolution, writes to me to say that he is compelled unexpectedly to be some miles away, or he would have been present to support this movement, which he thinks is a most valuable and important one. Sir James Fergusson, who was Governor of South Australia and New Zealand, writes in the same

way; as well as the Duke of Manchester, President of the Royal Colonial Institute. I am also extremely sorry to say that within the last two minutes I have received a letter from Mr. Crawford, your late Member for the City of London, who was to propose the second resolution, and who writes to express his great regret that he is at the last moment unavoidably prevented from attending the meeting. All those gentlemen, and many more, have expressed the very strong feeling which they have on behalf of this movement, which is so calculated to be of extreme value to the industrial interests of the whole of the United Empire, and which, my Lord Mayor, under your auspices, we are endeavouring to advocate and advance at this meeting to-day. (Hear, hear.)

—The LORD MAYOR: Gentlemen,—I will now state, with your kind permission, what the proposal about to be brought forward is. The proposal is to establish in a central position in London an Imperial Museum for the Colonies and India, with libraries, reading, and lecture rooms attached, which would afford a complete representation of the commercial resources, and of the social and political condition of all the different dominions under the British Crown. It is also proposed to utilise the stores of such a Museum for the preparation of various collections illustrative of India and the Colonies, which would be available for distribution throughout the principal seats of trade and industry in the British Empire. The same opportunity will be taken to concentrate in connection with the several Colonial sections of the Museum, the offices of the Agents-General for the Colonies, now distributed in different parts of London. The site proposed for the Imperial Museum is the one on the Victoria Embankment where Fife House formerly stood, and which now belongs to the Crown. This site occupies a more central position, and is more accessible to the various classes interested in such a Museum, whether commercial, political, or industrial, than any other which could be selected. It is proposed to urge upon Her Majesty's Government the expediency of its taking, in conjunction with India and the Colonies, the necessary steps for securing the establishment of an Institution calculated to benefit all the portions of the Empire alike. Upwards of fifty Chambers of Commerce, important towns, and Associations, have already memorialised Her Majesty's Government in favour of the proposal, and the time has now arrived for the City of London to give expression to its views on the subject. Those are the particulars, and, with your permission, I will ask the Right Honourable Pleydell Bouverie to move the first resolution; but

prior to his doing so, I will read the resolution: "That in the opinion of this meeting, it is expedient to establish in London an Imperial Museum for the Colonies and India, and that such a Museum should be placed in a central position, easily accessible to all classes, whether political, commercial, or industrial."

The Right Hon. E. P. BOUVERIE: My Lord Mayor and gentlemen,—You will perhaps forgive me for intruding upon you and moving this first resolution, which I do at the request of the gentlemen who have taken a deep interest in the proposal of this Museum, because, on the ground which I will mention to you, that my first connection with public life—I am sorry to say, many years ago now—was in one of the most important of the British Colonies. I mean Canada; and for many years I have otherwise had connection with the Colonies generally, which gives me a deep interest in anything which concerns their prosperity and welfare. You have heard from the Lord Mayor the general nature of the scheme which it is proposed this day to ask your approval of; and there is the fact—the main fact to start with—that we possess an enormous Colonial Empire; that there is not a clime in the world or the great globe, from the Arctic regions to the hottest tropics, in which we have not our Colonial possessions; and that the natural productions, of those varied districts and climates of the world are of enormous value. Many of them—most of them, as you must be aware—have hitherto been comparatively undeveloped; and the vast extent of territory which we possess in Australia and in North America has hardly yet been explored, and certainly the natural productions of those districts have never been yet fully developed. Now, in this country we possess materials for the utilisation of those productions, such perhaps as have never existed to the same extent in any other part of the world. We have more mechanical skill, more commercial enterprise, more capital applicable to the development of such resources than were ever perhaps before got together in a similarly limited space on the great globe. On the one hand, therefore, my Lord Mayor, we have this unbounded source of natural wealth, of productions of every class, and of every soil, and of enormous value; and, on the other hand, we have here the means of turning these to account and developing them for the wealth and the advantage of ourselves and of the human race; and the object of an institution such as that which is proposed to-day for your approval, I imagine to be that you should, as it were, give facilities for the marriage of those two things together—that those resources, those natural products, should be brought in the most favourable way, and at the easiest cost of time

and of labour, to this country, for the purpose of being examined, studied, and developed, and, if they turn out to be valuable for the purpose, of being turned to account in developing the manufactures and arts, sciences, and industries of our country. That seems to me to be, in general, the theory of this scheme, which is well deserving the support of the intelligent citizens of London. I imagine that in this room—in which I have never been before except upon festive occasions—I imagine that in this room those who have been entertained here have often heard the old-fashioned toast of “Ships, Colonies, and Commerce;” and at the time when that toast was first introduced in any public festival a state of things existed with regard to our commerce which has now passed away. Old things have passed away in this respect. Our commerce and our shipping were subjected to all sorts of restrictions; our connection with the Colonies was one, it may be said, of monopoly and domination on one side, and of subjection on the other. A century is but a short time in the history of a nation; and it is but a century ago that that system of monopoly and domination really drove what were then our great American Colonies into a state of revolt, which proved successful. But old things, now let me say, gentlemen, have passed away; and in this respect, as in many others, all things have become new. The system of commercial monopoly, the restriction and domination over our Colonies—of the dictation to them as to the mode in which they should conduct their affairs—have entirely passed away, and a new system has sprung up, allow me to say far better, far wiser, far healthier, and tending far more to develop that prosperity in our “ships, colonies, and commerce,” with which your interests as commercial men are essentially bound up. There has been a certain school of politicians and philosophers—I cannot help thinking they were of a somewhat shallow character—in the last generation that has sprung up, who have advocated before the public the repudiation of our connection with the Colonies of this great Empire. I do not believe that the views entertained by that school have ever really been popular in this country, or have found a way to the hearts and the sympathies of the great body of the English people. (Hear, hear.) I think—if you will allow to me to say so, gentlemen—that our race, by instinct and tradition, are a colonising race; we are the descendants ourselves of colonisers. The Saxons and Danes and the Normans who peopled this country, and from whom you yourselves are descended, were essentially colonisers. They came here and established themselves here, and from their loins you are sprung; and from that time to this the tendencies and the instincts

of the English people have been in the direction of colonisation. And I cannot help thinking that it is an answer to the theories of this school to which I have been referring to say that if their views had prevailed in olden times, and in times not very far distant from ourselves, those various Colonies which are destined to play at some future age an important part in the history of the world, and which were founded by our race, would never have existed. (Hear, hear.) I cannot help believing and thinking that the people of England have a pride—a natural and a just pride—in supposing that a large portion of the world will hereafter be occupied by people of their race, of their religion, of their language, with their laws, their love of liberty and free institutions, and with their industry and habits of close application to business. (Cheers.) And whatever would promote the development of those dependencies and would contribute to the material prosperity of those Colonies would incidentally add to your welfare and prosperity, and would—I beg you will let me say—add greatly to the credit and redound to the honour of the nation of which we are members. We are here but one generation, but these vast peoples will occupy the face of the world for many generations. It is said, indeed, by this school, that the Colonies have been very expensive—that they have cost us a great deal of money. I do not myself believe that ever a question of this kind is to be weighed by the immediate result of a balance-sheet. (Hear, hear.) There are considerations—high moral considerations—considerations of a character totally superior to those of pounds, shillings, and pence, which ought to be taken into account in questions of such vast national importance as that of our connection with our great Colonies. (Hear, hear.) And, in answer to the notions entertained by this philosophical school, I would ask you to allow me to read a short quotation from a great philosopher of another generation, whose mind was capable of grasping every consideration, and who took an entirely opposite view—I mean to this notion, that the temporary expense incurred for the Colonies was one which we were not justified in incurring, because it did not bring us an immediate return. Lord Bacon says: “Plantations are amongst ancient primitive and heroical works. When the world was young it begat more children; but now it is older it begets fewer; for I may justly account new plantations to be the children of former kingdoms. I like a plantation in a pure soil; that is, where people are not displanted, to the end to plant in others; for rather it is an extirpation than a plantation. Planting of countries is like planting of woods, for you must make account to lose almost twenty years’ profit, and expect your recompense in the

end: for the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most plantations hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years." I think that Lord Bacon's is a sounder and wiser philosophy than the philosophy of those as to whom I have been addressing you, and I trust you will be disposed to adhere to it. Then, again, it is said by these augurers that it is dangerous to have a connection so wide-spread over so great a space of the globe—in the northern parts of America, in Australia, in India—because in every corner of the globe your Empire is so extended that upon the least threatened danger you would be unable to defend it. That argument I venture to call a coward's argument, and one which ought to have no weight with the English nation and people; for we have been able hitherto to protect the Colonies, and shall doubtless continue to do so, for they are part of ourselves, and are connected with us by bonds of union, by blood, and every other tie. (Hear, hear.) I must apologise for having occupied so much time upon this general point. I think the scheme is one, as described by the Lord Mayor to you, which must commend itself to your good sense. It is not intended, as I understand, to have a collection of mere curiosities for the sake of satisfying idle sight-seers; it is intended to have a collection of the products of the different climates, brought together here at different times, and classified and arranged in such a manner so as to enable merchants to see what they can get from different parts of the world, and it is expected there will be the means, through the building of this Museum, of obtaining them and of introducing them into this country. And, when we have got them here, we can rely upon the skill and industry of our people to turn them to the best account for the benefit of themselves, and to export them again, to the advantage of the mercantile interest of the country, and the increase of the wealth and happiness of mankind. If by such a scheme as this, at a reasonable expense, the public can do it—this cannot be done by independent action—if it only facilitates the bringing together the producers and the manufacturers and the merchants, a good work will have been accomplished; and I for one, as a British tax-payer, shall be willing to bear my share of the burden of contributing to so desirable a result. I will not occupy you further than by moving the resolution put into my hands. (Cheers.)

THE LORD MAYOR: I have now the pleasure of calling upon our esteemed friend and citizen, Mr. Philip Twells, to second this resolution.

MR. PHILIP TWELLS, M.P.: My Lord Mayor and gentlemen, —In rising to second this resolution I may, perhaps, remind

you of what you know perfectly well already, that there is perhaps no other subject on which more has been said or more written since the Exhibition of 1851 than on the subject of museums. We have had museums of science; we have had museums of art; we have had museums of industrial occupations; and museums of almost every description; and the fact of there having been so many museums formed is itself one of the strongest arguments which can be adduced to show the general conviction that, when they are properly used, they are of essential service to the important interest of the commercial community. (Hear, hear.) Now I do not intend to occupy your time unnecessarily by descanting on the different varieties of museums; but when it is proposed that it would be desirable that an Imperial Museum for the Colonies and India should be formed, I assume that you all mean that it should be formed on the most scientific and the best possible principles that the experience—particularly of the last quarter of a century—would enable anyone to devise. We all know that in this country of course manufactures are made from natural productions. Now, whatever science can discover in those natural productions, and by whatever means art can make them applicable for industrial purposes, the enterprise of this country is quite sure to give every encouragement to carry them out into the most practical effect. What we want is to put them into action; we want practical results for everything that science can discover and art apply, and that, I think, we are almost sure to obtain here. But in order to enable science to make discoveries, you must bring before her the products which the different Colonies and the countries of the world supply. When science has an opportunity of seeing those different productions, it will begin to inquire whether they can be made useful for the cheaper, or better, or more efficient conversion into any manufacture which is particularly desirable in this country. Now we want, in the first place, the most extensive collection which can be exhibited, to enable science to see and make itself acquainted with facts, and from those facts to draw a right and proper conclusion. But to do that we require a great space, great research, and a great deal of skill and experience. But when science has made any discovery, and when art has found out how to apply it, there is another important thing to be done, that is to make the greatest number of people best acquainted with the discoveries which have but just been made. In order to do this, we must have another class—we must have lectures delivered in a room, and in order to make it complete, we ought to have

libraries, with the most recent publications, from the most remote Colonies, to have exhibitions and lectures on their products; and all these things ought to be placed in a position where any industrious manufacturer, or any person who is disposed to give time and attention to this matter, will have an easy opportunity of inspecting these things. If we intend these articles brought together to give every opportunity to men of science to examine them, to give every opportunity to manufacturers to become acquainted with the discoveries of science, all this ought to be done in the most convenient manner, and on the cheapest possible terms. Now for these purposes, and many others, we want a Museum in some convenient and accessible position—a place where it can be got at by lawyers, by manufacturers, by artisans, and by all persons who would be at all likely to make the application of this knowledge useful to the public; for we must remember that these things are supplied to a much greater extent here in England by several of our large manufacturing continental countries. We are engaged a great deal in the race of competition; and we all know in that race, as in every other, the prize is given to time and to the swift; and in order that we may get a fair amount of prizes in this race, all the discoveries that are made must be communicated as rapidly as possible to those persons who are to carry them into effect. With regard to our own Colonies, we know something about them, they are very vast and extensive; but unless one happens to look at the Blue-book giving the statistical returns, one is not quite aware of the influence which our Colonial possessions have upon the mother-country. Of course it is extremely important that we should carry on a considerable amount of import and a considerable amount of export trade. Now, with our own Colonies, how do they affect us in this way? It seems from the last Blue-book made up for the year 1874, our exports from the Colonies and India amounted to about £82,000,000. Our exports to Germany, France, and the United States, put together, amounted to about £72,000,000. We find, therefore, our largest consumers—the parties from whom we derive more profit than from all other parties together—are our own Colonial possessions. (Hear, hear.) Then with regard to our imports: the amount of imports from the Colonies and India are about 22 per cent.; all we supply to the whole world, including, as I said before, the United States, France, and Germany, which I mention, as being with the exception of our own Colonies—our largest consumers. By such a Museum as we are proposing to erect to-day, we get all the products of our own Colonies brought together in such a manner

as they can be seen and diligently inspected and inquired into by persons competent to inquire, and when they have inquired into anything useful to the English manufacturer, they would be communicated to those likely to carry away all points of such information, and our commercial and manufacturing interests would be immensely promoted by such matters. (Hear, hear.) We find also from the quantity of imports and exports, that our own Colonial countrymen are our best consumers; they are therefore the persons whom it is our best interests to consult, and promote their views in every way we can; because in proportion as they export things into this country, they are enabled to import things from us; but they not only bring us the raw material, out of which we are to make our manufactures, better than perhaps before, beyond the monies they receive for those things which they import, but they are also better able to take from us a larger quantity of those things which we desire to export; so that by encouraging our Colonies particularly as far as we can, we not only benefit ourselves, but those whom we are most anxious to assist, namely, our own descendants, our own countrymen, our own Colonies. (Cheers.) It is to be hoped that this Museum, when it is established, will be very productive of advantages to our own Colonies, and one can only hope that those ladies who may happen to be present at the first annual festival which may be held to celebrate the success of our Museum, will be able to beautify themselves with silks imported from our own Colonies of South Australia, and regale themselves with wine from our South Australian vineries, and young gentlemen who do not require such costumes, will be able, at all events, to enjoy themselves with tobacco and coffee imported from our Indian Empire. The second part of the resolution entrusted to my hands, after saying, "That in the opinion of this meeting it is expedient to establish in London an Imperial Museum for the Colonies and India," goes on to say, "That such a Museum should be placed in a central position, easily accessible to all classes, whether political, commercial, or industrial." Now with that proposition I most cordially concur. We all know the defect of the Museum at South Kensington, and other museums that exist in this metropolis; and I think that if any gentleman will refer to his own experience, he will find that his visits to South Kensington are not so frequent as they would be if South Kensington were in a more accessible part of the metropolis. (Hear, hear.) I have met with one person who never entered the walls of the British Museum, from its being in a somewhat out-of-the-way spot. I believe when a man has spent some years of his life in London, and

is able to make that statement, he is almost afraid to go to the Museum for fear he should break the charm. (Laughter.) There are hundreds who are deterred from going to South Kensington from its distance, and by its involving the sacrifice of the whole day. Those pleasure-seekers who like to go somewhere on Bank Holidays, can easily go to these museums, wherever they may be ; but to men of business, and persons whom it is desirable to attract to these museums, the fact of its being in a convenient situation would be a great inducement for that class to visit it ; the convenience of the site is really half the battle. It is proposed on the present occasion that the site to be recommended should be in one of the most available parts of the metropolis, where all persons in every class of life can go to it without any trouble, and where they can give that amount of attention and receive that amount of advice which we hope will turn out to be extremely useful and beneficial to them. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the importance of our Colonies and plantations, I really do not think it is at all worth while to occupy your time by pointing that out. Anyone who chooses to inquire into the different character of our Colonies, the different stations, the plantations, and so on, must be aware of the great importance they are in regard to this matter ; and I am quite sure we cannot do better for our own interests than do everything we can to encourage the improvements in the manufactures which are made by our own countrymen and our own descendants in the Colonies, and any other part of the world which is covered by that large expression, "the British territory." (Cheers.) Now, with those views I beg to second this resolution, and particularly that part of it which says that the Museum "shall be placed in a central position, easily accessible to all classes." There is one thing we all have to consider in such a matter as this, that is the expense. Of course this cannot be done without a considerable outlay ; but I also think that the additional expense which it would occasion would not be overwhelmingly great. In the first place, all our Colonial Agents' offices might be under the same roof as the Museum. The amount which they pay annually for rent would be all applied towards the annual expenses of this Museum. And with regard to India, she has already paid a great deal more than her fair proportion ; and we might possibly be able to—I am afraid to say—exonerate India from any contribution at all ; but India might be fairly represented at this Museum at a much less expense than she has incurred up to the present time, and I hope our Colonies will be able to make such an arrangement that they and the mother-country will be mutually contented. (Hear, hear.)

THE LORD MAYOR: I have now to ask you, as the resolution has been proposed and seconded so ably, and been read, if it is your pleasure that it should pass in the usual way?

PROFESSOR FAWCETT, M.P.: I want to raise the question as to who shall bear the cost of this Museum, and I am going to propose—I will move as an amendment to this resolution, “That in the opinion of this meeting, no portion or part of the expense of erecting or maintaining this Museum should be charged upon the revenues of India.”

MR. FREDERICK YOUNG: I should be sorry to oppose anyone of the eminence of Mr. Fawcett; but I do rise to order, and to ask whether it would be competent to make such an addenda as the one suggested at such a meeting as this. We are not summoned here to discuss the question of who is to bear the expense, but to discuss the question whether this Museum should be established at all; and therefore I beg to submit that in point of order Professor Fawcett should not be allowed to put such an amendment as the one he proposes.

MR. H. B. T. STRANGWAYS: I would ask that the opinion of this meeting be taken upon Professor Fawcett's amendment, in the ordinary way in which such a question is put in Parliament, that is, “That the words proposed to be added be so added,” and let the citizens of London say for themselves whether they agree with him or not. (Hear, hear.)

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL, K.C.S.I., M.P.: I think it would be desirable to say whether the question of expense should be taken into consideration or not. I for one was glad to come to this meeting, but I must at the same time say I feel that I did not come to vote a vague resolution that a Museum should be established without any regard to the expense, for, after all, the great question is the expense. It would be most desirable that the Museum should be established, but the whole question is one of money. The right hon. gentleman who moved this resolution was pleased to take a sanguine view of the case; and I generally observe that that view is very usually taken by those who have not to pay; but those who have to pay are apt to take a somewhat different view of the matter, therefore I think that if this meeting adopts the resolution it is quite necessary that it should be considered by whom the expense should be borne. I myself do not entirely concur with the views brought forward by Professor Fawcett; I have been connected with India for many years, and I think I may say that those who are charged with the Government of India have a very strong feeling indeed so far as regards the Indian

Museum, that the whole expense should not fall upon India. My view is that this is one of those things which might be very fairly shared by those on the other side of the water who exhibit their products, and those on this side of the water who will have an opportunity of seeing the Colonial products. I think two things are necessary for a Museum of the kind, first: that the Museum should be of an instructive character, and should not be a free show for the benefit of this country; but should be of a practical and industrial character, and that the products of India and the Colonies should be there exhibited to the customers in this country; and, secondly, that there should be some consideration for the bearing of the expense. I understand that this meeting has been brought together by those interested in our Colonies, and if the meeting is to have a practical result, I think it would be most desirable that some of those gentlemen representing the Colonies should assure us that the Colonies themselves are willing to bear a considerable portion of the expense. My view is that it should be an equitable arrangement, and I should be glad if something of the kind were expressed, that the expenses should be divided between the mother-country on the one side, and India and the Colonies on the other.

MR. HUMPHREY W. FREELAND: I will take the liberty of asking your Lordship and this meeting whether the question which my honourable friend Mr. Fawcett has raised—an interesting and important question—is not really a question for the decision of the House of Commons and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, rather than for this meeting to discuss, under a general resolution merely affirming the opinion of such meeting in favour of the project laid before you? (Hear, hear.) My right hon. friend on the right of the chair is better acquainted with the forms and procedure in such matters than I can pretend to be myself; but probably he may think with me, your Lordship would consult the convenience of this meeting if, instead of allowing it to indulge in a discussion, which might end we do not know where, or in which we might get into inconvenient details, you would ask the meeting at once whether it wishes the amendment to be entertained. That would bring matters to an immediate decision, and if it should be the wish of the meeting to hear my hon. friend Mr. Fawcett, he will have an opportunity of discussing the question in its details.

THE LORD MAYOR: I had intended to have listened to the purport of what any gentleman may wish to say before I desired to put the question as suggested by the hon. gentleman; but as freedom of speech is an Englishman's privilege, and there is no desire on

behalf of the Lord Mayor in this hall, certainly, to curtail in any form or shape that privilege, I was desirous that a discussion, if necessary, should take place; but I quite coincide with my friend that the question should be put, and if it is the pleasure of the meeting to discuss the question further before I put it, I will not put it; if it is not, I will put the question at once. Is it the wish of the meeting that the words proposed by Professor Fawcett should be added to the first resolution?

MR. FAWCETT: The question whether it should be added will be virtually discussed.

THE LORD MAYOR: Whether the question should be discussed? Those who are of that opinion will please signify the same in the usual way.

The question was put, and the meeting decided that it should not be discussed.

THE LORD MAYOR: The original resolution has been proposed, seconded, and read; is it your will it should pass?

The meeting decided unanimously that the resolution should pass; and it was carried.

THE LORD MAYOR: The next resolution is, "That the proposal to establish such a Museum on the old Fife House site, the property of the Crown, on the Victoria Embankment, has the warm approval of this meeting; and that as the proposed Museum is calculated to be of great use to this country, as well as to India and the Colonies, it is the opinion of this meeting that Her Majesty's Government should take the necessary steps to aid in securing its establishment on that site."

MR. ALEXANDER MCARTHUR, M.P.: My Lord Mayor and gentlemen,—In consequence of the unavoidable absence of the gentleman who was to have moved this resolution, whose absence I am sure we all regret, I have been requested to move it. I have this advantage, that brevity is very desirable, and as I am quite unprepared to address a meeting of this kind, you will not expect many words from me. I have, however, great pleasure in moving this resolution. The first part of it has been already dealt with by the gentleman who seconded the first resolution—I mean with reference to the site. I agree with him that it is of immense importance that there should be a suitable site—indeed, the very best site we can possibly secure. And I think a better site than that proposed in this resolution could not possibly be secured in the City of London. It is one of the most central positions, easily accessible to all classes; and I think it would be a very admirable situation for an institution of this kind. I may say

that I understand the first idea with reference to this Museum was that it should be an Indian Museum. I am very glad to find that a more comprehensive idea is now before us, and that a more liberal spirit prevails. I think it would have been a great mistake if it had been confined to India alone. With such magnificent Colonies as we possess, embracing a fourth of the world, as we heard from the first speaker, and possessing such an immense variety of soil, climate, and production, and with enormous resources very imperfectly developed, I think it would be difficult to over-estimate the importance and the value of such an institution as this. I think also, that nothing could be more calculated to favourably impress the mind of a stranger or foreigner in this country, with the power, the influence, and the importance of this country, than such an institution as this, if it were established and in good working order. I think, also, it is of immense importance that this institution should be an educational institution, as has been already stated, in which not only our merchants, manufacturers, and business men, could obtain information, but where every working man in this country could come and obtain information which might be very valuable to him as well as the nation. I think, also, it is of immense importance that regard should be had to the subject of emigration. I have no unfriendly feeling, my Lord, and I do not imagine any such feeling prevails in this meeting, to our friends across the Atlantic ; but I confess I have often been astonished, and often regretted, that the Government of this country has not endeavoured to devise some means by which they could direct the stream of emigration which now flows westward to our own Colonies. (Hear, hear.) As it is, immense numbers of our fellow-countrymen go to America, where I am free to admit they are cared for, and where they find comfortable homes ; but where, too frequently, they become not more our customers, and certainly not more our friends ; whereas if they were directed to our own Colonies, we should make both customers and friends of them. I would therefore suggest, in connection with this Museum, that there should be maps of India and all the Colonies, and that facilities be afforded to persons wishing to emigrate, that they might go there and find all the information they require to enable them to select their future homes. (Cheers.) I think this would be of great advantage. I am aware it is a difficult matter for Government to interfere with emigration in all respects ; but I think if we adopt this plan and sanction this proposal, we shall be greatly promoting the interests of the mother-country and the Colonies at large. (Cheers.)

MR. HUGH MATHESON: I have much pleasure in rising to second this resolution. I have heard it said that there is not much enthusiasm in the City about this matter, but I think, considering there is no city in the world where men of business are so incessantly occupied with pressing affairs as London, that the aspect of this meeting to-day disproves the assertion, and shows that, at all events, there is a true interest felt by the commercial classes in the subject now before the meeting. There is what is more, than any general enthusiasm—for that is a thing that we all find is apt to be somewhat evanescent—there is a thorough interest in the matter among those of the merchants and the trade of this country who are in the habit of looking beyond what is passing under their immediate observation, and of considering what is likely in the future to be advantageous to the great commerce and trade of this country. I think when we look round to other nations, and see the very important uses to which Institutions of the kind contemplated are turned, in directing the attention of the traders and artisans of those countries into channels for improvement, and for the growth of trade, and in every way to benefit the countries in which they reside, that it would not only be wise on the part of this country to establish an Educational Museum such as that which we now contemplate, but it would be madness not to take advantage of any opportunity that is afforded to us, and to establish it on a thoroughly satisfactory footing. (Hear, hear.) I think we are deeply indebted to those men in Parliament who have urgently pressed upon the country the matter of technical education in connection with our national system, but such a Museum as this can only be regarded as the complement to that education. The rising generation who will come out of these schools will require just such an Institution as this in which to carry on their training, and to learn the practical uses to which to turn that education which they have so received. (Hear, hear.) I believe the resolution I am supporting goes to the question of site. Undoubtedly the question of site is of the very first importance in a matter of this kind. It would be pure folly to suppose that men can go to South Kensington and such distant places to inspect those things with which it is to their interest to become acquainted. Unless the Museum is placed in a central situation accessible to all the classes for whose benefit it is intended, the Museum may as well not be created. (Hear, hear.) It is not so much for persons of leisure that this institution is intended: it is for the trading class, for the artisan class, for the mercantile class, and for the political class; and the site which has been sug-

gested, and which is mentioned in the resolution, viz. Fife House on the Thames Embankment, is undoubtedly of all sites that could be named, I suppose most of us will agree, the very best that could be chosen. (Hear, hear.) I have no means of knowing what the authorities think upon the subject of this site, and whether it is at all a feasible thing to obtain it, but if the Government should see its way to make the arrangement suggested, by which this site can be given for a great Indian and Colonial Museum, they will have taken a step which will go far to secure the complete success of what I must say is a splendid project. (Cheers.)

The LORD MAYOR: In the order of things Mr. Otway will now address the meeting.

Mr. OTWAY: My Lord Mayor and gentlemen,—I obey your desire to say a few words in support of this resolution. I do so for the reason which I hope will commend the feebleness of my support to your indulgence, namely, that I take great interest in this question. In early life it was my fortune to visit many of our Colonies, Crown Dependencies, and our Indian Empire; and on entering public life nothing astonished me more, I will not say than the ignorance which I found existing with regard to matters in our Colonies and in our Indian Empire, but to the want of interest that was shown whenever the affairs of India and the Colonies were discussed in the Houses of Parliament. Why, at the Indian debate it was hardly possible to induce twenty-five men to remain in the House of Commons, unless the Government were to be attacked, and Colonial questions generally managed to empty the House. I see with regret that my hon. friend Professor Fawcett has now left the Hall, otherwise I would ask him—who takes so deep an interest in India—whether he has found matters much improved in his time? Well, now, I consider that the establishment of a Museum such as has been recommended to-day would tend much to dispel that ignorance and to create that knowledge which is so much wanted. I doubt whether there are many in this country who had a notion of the ancient arts of India until they saw that valuable collection which is now to be found in the Indian Museum; and certain I am that there are very few who know how vast and variable are the products of our several Colonies. Why, from Heligoland to Fiji it would be difficult to enumerate all the products which could interest, and knowledge of which would be of the greatest possible value to the people of this country. Therefore I look to the establishment of this Museum as being the commencement of a more intimate acquaintance between the people of England and the people of India and our Colonial empire. (Cheers.) And

I really do not know that among a practical people we could possibly commence our knowledge in any better way than by the establishment of such a Museum as this. (Hear, hear.) Now, there is a question, I see, touched upon in this resolution as to the site. I do not profess to be any authority upon this matter, but looking at it for one moment in a sentimental point of view, I can hardly conceive a site more appropriate than one on the banks of that noble river which takes the products of this country to distant Empires and Colonies, and brings back again those objects of industry and natural production from the countries to which our ships have borne the products of this country. (Hear, hear.) I think it is most central; and those who speak with greater authority than I can on this matter, intimately acquainted with the requirements, the distance, and the cost, all approve of it. Therefore, so far as my opinion goes, I very willingly give my concurrence with the opinions expressed in favour of that site. Now there is the question of payment. I must say, although I think that the question raised by Professor Fawcett was inopportune, and under any circumstances would have been more properly raised on this resolution rather than the first resolution, I am entirely with him in opinion that it would be unwise to ask the people of India, from whom the revenue of India is raised, to contribute towards the expense of a Museum in this country. I think, considering the great national benefit to be conferred, that the expense ought to be met by the Government of this country. I can imagine no question of national expenditure which I believe would meet with more general concurrence among the working classes of this country than the establishment of such a Museum. (Hear, hear.) Why, if with all the difficulties attending on a visit to South Kensington, you see thousands and thousands that I am privileged constantly to see in that Museum, going there under great difficulties and expense—I assume that if you establish a Museum of so interesting a character on a site so central as the Thames Embankment, that you would have the entire concurrence, and would fulfil the desires of the working classes of this country. Therefore, if for a moment let us consider the impossible supposition of myself in the position of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—I should say I would go with the greatest confidence to the representatives of the people, and ask them to vote for such a scheme as would meet their general wishes. I merely meant to say a few words in support of the resolution, and I thank the meeting for the attention they have been so kind as to bestow on my few words. (Cheers.)

Mr. F. W. CAMPIN: I am here to testify to a fact as to matters

alluded to by other speakers, arising from my connection with the working classes. This matter was submitted to a representative body of them at a meeting which was held not very long ago, and they were unanimously of opinion that it would be for their benefit, as also for the benefit of the country in general, that a Museum of this kind should be established in London; and, furthermore, that it ought to be upon such a site as is now proposed. Taking it to South Kensington would take it away from the great majority of working men, but placing it in such a position as is proposed by this resolution would put it within the means of working men to get at without expense. My lord, I have only to endorse this resolution, which I do heartily. (Hear, hear.)

MR. WILLIAM TAYLER: My apology for speaking is that I passed thirty-eight years of my life in India without seeing my mother-country, eventually rising to the official position of Commissioner. I have for many years felt intense interest in the establishment of some such Museum as is now projected by Dr. Forbes Watson, and I am anxious at the outset to offer my tribute of admiration for the energy, ability, and perseverance which Dr. Forbes Watson has shown. (Applause.) I feel, moreover, convinced that if the suggestion is carried out to completion, on the lines suggested by him, that we shall have a national monument more magnificent, more useful, more advantageous to the present and future generations than anything that has hitherto been discovered. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the principles of a Museum of this kind, I look at it as essentially educational. I believe myself that that education which is derived from the study of the artistic and natural products of a country is infinitely superior to that which is ascertained through the medium of books. I consider that the study of these products, whether mineral, vegetable, or artistic, may be called the alphabet of the world, in opposition to the alphabet of books. And I do believe that this scheme, if carried out, will be a commencement on an extended sphere of enlightenment and education, affecting the interests, not of England alone, but of every Colony, and of India itself. (Cheers.) I happen, by an accident, to have directed my attention to the subject when in India. For the last twenty years of my life I have devoted a considerable portion of my time to the formation of a large collection of curiosities, which are now placed in the South Kensington Museum. Finding it too large to keep as a private collection, I was forced to part with it, and it suited my book to sell it. Now, the classification of the objects which I made, and which I believe to be the proper classification of such a collection for the purposes of instruction, was at once

broken up. This was natural, as the South Kensington authorities regarded the articles merely as objects of curiosity or art, but they led me to think of how important it was that there should be a collection from all parts of the world placed in a Museum, and arranged not with a view to ornament only. We all know that for many years past it was a great scandal and a reproach to the old Indian Government that they had a magnificent collection of all kinds of works of art and scientific productions, mineral and vegetable products, stored away in the cellars, which few could ever see or approach. Since the transfer has been made to the Government of England things have been a little better, but the Museum was opened on the top of a sort of London Himalaya Mountain, where people could not approach. Now, again, it is removed and laid out, and is certainly exhibited at much greater advantage, in South Kensington. But everybody must feel that that is not an appropriate place. Who goes to South Kensington? Gentlemen and ladies, and holiday makers among the people,—people who wish to be amused, to admire, and perhaps be admired. But don't tell me that, as a general rule, the artisan, or public man, or commercial man, goes there for the practical purpose of receiving instruction. It is this scheme, now for the first time projected, which would lay before the world at large the magnificent productions of the British Empire, and afford most useful instruction to the people. (Hear, hear.) On this ground it is that I venture to offer, as an old resident of India, my most cordial and enthusiastic approval of the scheme, especially as regards the site. With regard to the money question alluded to by Sir George Campbell, and raised by Professor Fawcett, I venture to congratulate you, my Lord Mayor, on having wisely put away that seductive criticism of Professor Fawcett, which would have led us into argument, and landed us in nothing. I do not agree that India should not pay some part of the expense, but that is a matter which should form the subject of discussion elsewhere. I wish, before sitting down, to give my most cordial and hearty concurrence to the proposal that is made. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. HENRY BROADHURST, Secretary of the Labour Representation League: I should like to offer a few words in support of the resolution. The speaker that has preceded me alluded to the opinion of the working classes with regard to the expenses. That I am not going to enter into; but this, I think, I might say, that if the Working Men's Associations of London, both political and trade, could be polled to-day, they would vote unanimously in favour of the establishment of the proposed Museum upon the Victoria Embankment,

(Hear, hear.) I, in conjunction with Mr. Campin, convened a delegate meeting a fortnight ago, over which Sir James Lawrence, who is now on the platform, very kindly presided, and I think I can say in his presence that the meeting was well attended, and most enthusiastic in support of the establishment of a Colonial and Indian Museum on the Thames Embankment. Not only were delegates specially appointed to support this movement, but others who had not time to attend wrote letters assuring us that we could call upon them for their support at any moment for this object. It is so very plain to any resident in London that a Museum built two miles from Charing Cross is, practically speaking, no Museum for London at all. (Hear, hear.) The inhabitants of our great and densely populated working class districts are altogether without reach of such a place as that. But if we could centralise it near to Charing Cross, the districts of Lambeth, Southwark, East End, and Westminster, would all be within easy reach, and the educational advantages, in more senses than one, of the institution in this direction would be immense; and I do hope that all the influence you possess will be brought to bear upon getting the Government to consider the resolution we are passing to-day. My opinion is that the influences which carry our Museums to South Kensington are very strong indeed; but if representations equally strong could be addressed to the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, whom we all look upon as a very sensible and a very good man, generally speaking, I believe he would decide in our favour if he found it possible to do so. I have very great pleasure in supporting the resolution. I hope it will not end with a resolution, but that a most determined effort will be made to carry the resolution into practical effect. (Cheers.)

The LORD MAYOR: The second resolution has been proposed and seconded and spoken to; is it your pleasure that it should pass?

The resolution was carried *nem con*.

The LORD MAYOR: The third resolution is, "That the foregoing resolutions be communicated to Her Majesty's Government by a deputation, headed by the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, on behalf of this meeting. That the Lord Mayor be requested to ask the First Lord of Her Majesty's Treasury to receive such deputation, and that the members for the City of London be invited to give the proposal their co-operation and support." My esteemed friend and colleague, Alderman Sir James Clarke Lawrence, M.P., will speak to this resolution.

Sir JAMES C. LAWRENCE, M.P.: My Lord Mayor and gentlemen,—Not one word is necessary from me to utter in regard to the observations that have fallen from various speakers in commendation of

the object which has called us together. There appears to be but one sentiment and one opinion as to the advisability of placing the proposed Museum, which will be of use to the great mass of the working people of London, upon some such central site as the Victoria Embankment. And I have no doubt that if the terms of this resolution will be borne in mind by everyone here present, that when they look at the latter part of it that the members of the City of London be invited to give the proposal their co-operation and support, possibly the suggestion may strike them that they might invite their own members who may be connected with other parts of London, or even with some of the counties very near to London, when no doubt those members, if they have the facts placed before them—which so many at this meeting will be able to place before them in clear and unmistakable language—that the result of such invitations and such communications will be most useful whenever the subject is discussed in Parliament. (Hear, hear.) I believe that in this, as in many other matters, the members of the House of Commons simply require to be informed on the subject. (Hear, hear.) You have heard from a previous speaker how, when the subject of India and the Colonies has been discussed in the House of Commons, that a very small number have attended; but I venture to throw out the suggestion that with increased means for obtaining information, those who bring forward Colonial and Indian questions in the House of Commons would find their influence greater, and their audiences far more numerous. The subject before us is one in which I feel great interest, and I might have been tempted, if there had been time, to enlarge upon it. I believe, however, we are of one mind, and that we have only to make our opinions on this subject known to exercise a beneficial influence, and one which, I trust, will lead to what we all desire. (Cheers.)

Sir ALBERT SASSOON, K.C.S.I., seconded the resolution.

Mr. W. O'BRIEN, of Canada: There is one point I wish to bring before this meeting, and I do it with great deference. It is right and proper that in this great commercial Metropolis, the Metropolis not only of this Empire but the world, commercial considerations should have the first place. But as a Canadian farmer, myself, having no special interests in commercial questions at large, allow me to put this suggestion, that after all, although closely connected with commercial questions, this does seem to me to be a political question also. It has a political as well as a commercial aspect, and anything which tends to promote the political union of the Empire at large, whether commercial or otherwise, is worth

being considered in discussing a question like the present. (Hear.) I think I may, from the tone of this meeting, presume that the majority here, like myself, are what we call in Canada Imperialists, that is, we lay down this principle, that for the sake of Imperial unity, and for the maintenance of the integrity of the Empire, both the Colonists and the people at home in the mother-country must be prepared occasionally to make a few sacrifices. If our Imperial interests are not worth that, they are not worth maintaining, and I think we in Canada have always shown that we are ready to undergo our share of such sacrifices. I wish that from the English language the word "Colonial" could be expunged, and the word "Imperial" substituted. (Cheers.) When I come to London, I like to consider myself as much a British subject as anyone. I don't like to be told I am a colonist. As a British subject I say I have a right to stand here in every respect as though I had been born within the limits of the City of London. There is nothing so galling to us, because we live in the outskirts of the Empire, to be told by the Press and the public men of this country that we stand in an inferior position to those who enjoy the privilege of living within the British Islands: there is nothing that galls us so much. Though we value as we do our birthright, yet sometimes we almost feel as if we paid too great a price for it; and when such reports reach the remote parts of Canada, as they do, they do not give us a great deal of encouragement to hope for better things. We have heard a great deal of the "Eastern Question." We will imagine the great possibility of a war in Europe. We will imagine the ports in the Black Sea closed, and the export of grain forbidden, and we will imagine an alliance between a certain great Republic and a certain despotic Empire. I ask you then, where are these teeming millions of the British Empire to get their bread from? How important, then, would it be if the great agricultural resources of British America could be so employed as to make the British Empire what statesmen like William Pitt meant it to be—a great sustaining and self-supporting Empire. (Cheers.) Is it an impossibility that these resources should be brought together, that it should be entirely independent of foreign sources of supply? I think that that is a reasonable and a sensible inquiry, and is one which I feel sure will have its fair influence with commercial men. There is another point referring to Canadian interest. It is our fate or our misfortune, that we, with our four millions of population, a little better than that of the City of London, are placed beside a great country with a population of thirty millions who are great in commercial matters. Now and

then it does so happen that, somewhat on the same principle that I saw elucidated the other day, where a London butcher said he always sold American meat as English meat, and sold it at the highest price, and that he always sold the bad English meat as the American, so the Americans buy good Canadian cheese, for instance, and sell it for American, and send bad cheese of their own making branded as Canadian. (Laughter.) Now commercial men in London could go to this Museum, and see for themselves what is really Canadian and what is American; and I venture to say we are not ashamed to show our products with America any day of the week. I wish this meeting to consider, and those having any influence over public affairs of this country, to do everything they can to sustain the Imperial idea of making Britain and the great Colonies one great and grand Empire, self-sustaining and self-supporting in every respect. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. H. B. T. STRANGWAYS: I wish to say a few words in respect to Australia; and, in respect to that part of the world, I wish you to understand that the Australian Colonies are not come hat in hand to the English people to ask them to find money to put up the Museum. Those working on behalf of the establishment of this Museum say—and I desire to say—to the Government, “You give the land, and the Colonies will soon put a building upon it.” I submit that that is a fair way of meeting the question. The English people, as the head of the Empire, say, “We will give the land, and let the Colonists find the money to put up the building; it is only a quarter of a million sterling that is wanted, and what is that scattered over the whole of the British Colonial Empire?” Nothing whatever. I can say, from what I hear from the Australian Colonies, that I believe that if the British Government will give the land, the British Colonies will make no difficulty about finding the money—that in four or five years, at the outside, the building will be put up. It may be said, “What in the world have the working classes to do with India? and who is to bear the expenses of the Indian portion of the Museum? We leave that to those who deal with the Indian finances.” But I wish to say that the benefit of a building of this kind will not be confined to the working classes alone. They do not require a Museum built for them to acquire a knowledge that there are British Colonies; they know that already. But how many men in the City of London at the present time are there with an extended knowledge of the Colonial Empire with which they trade, or any apprehension of the full magnitude of their transactions with them? Very few indeed, I believe, if the truth is told. To show the ignorance of some of

them, I know as a fact that we have had sometimes in Australia letters directed to "Adelaide, near Melbourne, New South Wales." Well, I believe that errors of this kind exist in high places; even the Lords of the Admiralty may learn that Hobart Town and Tasmania are in two different parts of the world! One great question in connection with the education of the people during the last four or five years, that is troubling every class in this country from top to foot, is: "What shall we do with our rising generation?" Trade is dull—what is the cause of it? Why, that those who have to transact business with every part of the British Empire confine that business, to a great extent, to fulfilling the orders sent to them in writing, and they do not make themselves, as they ought to do, acquainted with the requirements and details, the products and wants, of those countries with which they are dealing. Now, I believe that if the British merchants had an opportunity of seeing what the Colonies produce and knowing what those Colonies require, that then they would find a large portion of commerce, which they are now allowing to slip through their hands, would return to them. I can tell you that I can remember the time when it was sufficient in the Australian Colonies to say of a large class of productions, "Oh, it's English, and it must be good;" but I have seen a later period than that, when to say that it was English was to cause it to be laid aside, and to cause the productions of other countries—especially of those go-ahead cousins of ours, the Americans—to be preferred to them. Why was that? Because the English manufacturers and English merchants do not take the trouble to make themselves acquainted with the requirements of the colonists. But they go on, year after year, manufacturing and shipping precisely the same class of articles, until orders come home for the production of articles of a different class. There is another question which would become widely known through a Museum of the kind, that the great Colonies of England are not all inhabited, that there are large tracts of the world waiting to be occupied, that at the present time do not belong to England or any other Power. There is the great continent of Africa, which is open to anyone to go to; and when I remind you that it was due to the enterprise of your predecessors, and it was the enterprise of your predecessors in business, London merchants, that won for England that great Empire of India, then I put it to you whether that enterprise which has done so much in the past, may not do something in the future, and whether other large tracts of land may not be populated by this country, and turned to a good and practical use. (Hear, hear.) All these things will be

prominently brought forward, and people would see and would go, and would have opportunities of seeing day by day, what other parts of the world produce, and what they require from your hands as manufacturers. I would make a suggestion to you, my Lord Mayor and the Corporation. Suppose you make the first contribution towards the establishment of this Museum. You have a very ancient monument in London that you do not know what to do with. Take Temple Bar, one of the most historical monuments in the City of London, and make it the principal entrance to this great Colonial Museum. (Laughter.) There is another thing with respect to the commerce of these growing Colonies. I had to make up the returns a few years ago of the trade to the Colonies, and the result was, that the shipping trade of the Colonies, exclusive of the coasting trade, was, in the year 1872—four years ago—and it has grown enormously since that time—it was four and a half times the amount of the shipping trade of the United Kingdom of Great Britain with the whole of the rest of the world in 1835. Now that is the way this Colonial Empire of England has grown, and there are very few persons in any large city in this country who are aware of the extent and magnitude of that Empire. I believe the establishment of a Museum of this kind on that site, which would be accessible to all classes of the community, and to all the visitors that may come to London, will tend more than anything else to diffuse a knowledge throughout all classes of the community of what England's great empire is; and would teach those people who wish to know what they are to do with the rising generations; it would show them that the world is a very fine oyster, and that the best thing the rising generation can do is to go and open it. (Cheers.)

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Sir JOHN BENNETT: Our resolutions have come to an end, and each has been satisfactorily passed. We have taken the first step in the City for the establishment of this Museum. We have called upon the Government, and a powerful deputation will go to represent this meeting. But we are indebted to the Lord Mayor for the happy way in which these things were brought about, and for the able manner in which he has presided to-day. He knows, and all other trading men in the city, know perfectly well how difficult it is to get on any day in the week, for any reason, a large assembly during the business hours in this Hall. But to-day we have seen an interest taken on all sides by men of such influence that we know the heart and the mind of the City are thoroughly with it. And whether they be commercial men, trading men, or manu-

facturers, we all know perfectly well the critical condition of our great public matters at this moment. When we see how our exports and imports are going on, and that France has £38,000,000 against us in their exports to us over ours to them, why was it? Because they had cultivated the talent and skill of their artisans by erecting Museums in all directions. And we must fight them in all directions too. We must have our Museums, and we mean to have them. We are alive for it. It is a matter of necessity. Wherever we find wealth in abundance, use that capital as much as you like. Stick our noses to the grindstone from the 1st January to the 31st December, if it need be. In the power of distribution in "ships, colonies, and commerce," we know we are pre-eminent; and now we want to bring into contact with our artisans those elements of production which can come from every corner of the earth, and can be shown in the manner proposed to-day. I feel deeply indebted to the Lord Mayor. We all do. It is not the first time he has brought such a meeting together for some useful purpose. He has made no mistake to-day; and from all I see of his generous and able character, he will go through his year of office with the same success throughout. I beg therefore to call your attention to him, to give him a hearty vote of thanks for what he has done to-day. (Cheers.)

SIR ANTONIO BRADY: I esteem it a privilege to second this resolution. I can re-echo from my heart every word that has fallen from Sir John Bennett in regard to my friend the Lord Mayor. But it needs no laudation from me to commend him to your kind wishes. I desire you to thank the Lord Mayor for presiding, and for his kindness in giving the use of this hall to-day to promote an object, which I have no hesitation in saying is calculated to advance the best interests of the nation. (Hear, hear.) We have been told that trade and commerce are languishing, and that our balance-sheet is topsy-turvy, and that it is time England should look out. There are in Africa and elsewhere millions of people waiting to be clothed by our commerce, and should it be said that this great City of London is backward in promoting an object so conducive to the best interests of the nation? Our various Colonies abound in wealth and resources which only want to be made known by means of the proposed Museum. I am afraid we are educating too many clerks and too few artisans, therefore I feel the greatest satisfaction at the movement which has been set on foot, not only for establishing this great practical Museum, which I hope will now be a triumphant success, but also the work now taken in hand by the City guilds with the object

of promoting technical education. I have been a good deal about the world, and have been in foreign countries which have seen their shortcomings and have established museums, schools of art, and colleges for technical instruction. And should it be said in this great City of London that we are wanting in giving such education to our artisans as will enable them to compete with their competitors? I believe our raw material is the best in the world, and if we only give our Anglo-Saxons the same education as that enjoyed by other nations, I care not whether in America, Germany, or elsewhere, we will hold our own with the trade of all-comers. Therefore, I hail with the greatest possible pleasure the occasion of a meeting like this to promote the establishment of a Museum to exhibit the productions of our vast Empire as being likely to prove of great moment to the welfare of the country, and I believe that the action now taken by the Lord Mayor will end in the achievement of our object, and be the crowning fame of his mayoralty, and be looked upon by our future generation as a lasting emblem of England's greatness, prosperity, and wealth. I beg to second the vote of thanks so eloquently proposed by Sir John Bennett. (Cheers.)

The motion was put to the meeting and duly carried.

The LORD MAYOR: Sir John Bennett, Sir Antonio Brady and gentlemen,—It is a very honourable, but an uncomfortable position, for me at this moment to enjoy to be spoken of so kindly by those two gentlemen, and to receive at your hands acquiescence in the merit of all which they have said. The Lord Mayor of London is placed in a very peculiar position. The position is one which I accepted with all its responsibilities, and I intend to the best of my humble, but yet limited, ability, to carry them out with the fullest purpose. (Hear, hear.) I am very anxious that religious differences, political agitations, or anything which by any possibility can disturb the minds of my friends that come here, should not take place during my year of office. I am therefore determined to act with freedom in the sense of the one, and with freedom in the sense of the other, in carrying out those views, and expressing a desire of giving an opportunity and a hearty welcome to all who desire to attend this Mansion House, be it upon any occasion it may. I can only assure you that if the satisfaction to you in coming here to advocate the proposal which has been brought before you is equal to that of my own, then I am sure that neither the one nor the other have felt dissatisfaction. I thank you very much. (Loud cheers.)

The meeting then separated.

SEVENTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Seventh Ordinary General Meeting was held at the "Pall Mall," on Tuesday, April 17th, 1877. In the unavoidable absence of the President, His Grace the Duke of Manchester, **FREDERICK YOUNG, Esq., Hon. Sec.,** occupied the chair. Among a number of ladies and gentlemen present were the following:—

Sir Anthony Musgrave, K.C.M.G., Governor of Jamaica; Sir James R. Longden, K.C.M.G., Governor of Ceylon; Sir Rawson W. Rawson, K.C.M.G. and C.B., late Governor of Barbados; Mr. C. H. Kortright, C.M.G., Governor of British Guiana; Mr. Henry T. Irving, C.M.G., Governor of Trinidad; the Right Rev. the Bishop of Guiana; Sir W. H. Doyle, Chief Justice of Gibraltar, late Chief Justice of the Leeward Islands; Sir Charles E. F. Stirling, Bart., Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P., Sir George Young, Bart., the Ven. Archdeacon Jones (British Guiana), Colonel Laurie (Halifax, Nova Scotia), Major F. Duncan, R.A., Major Elles, D.A.Q.M.G., Major W. E. O'Brien (Canada), Lieut. George F. Young (Bengal Staff Corps), Capt. R. H. Veitch, R.E., Hon. J. Augustus Erskine, Rev. Brymer Belcher, Hon. G. Trafford (Chief Justice, St. Vincent), Mrs. Trafford, Hon. E. N. Walker (Assistant Colonial Secretary, Jamaica), Mr. Wm. Walker, Mr. Labilliere, Mr. Arthur L. Young and Miss Young, Mr. J. L. Ohlson (Secretary West India Committee), Mr. Joseph Bravo (Jamaica), Mr. H. W. Freeland, Mr. J. B. Montefiore (New South Wales), Mr. and Mrs. W. G. Lardner (West Indies), Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Matthews (West Indies), Mr. Henry Beit (Sydney, New South Wales), Mr. Leonard W. Thrupp (South Australia), Mr. Abraham Hyams (Jamaica), Mr. John A. Deane (New Zealand), Mr. J. Sanjo (Japan), Mr. Herbert Edwards (New Zealand), Mr. W. B. Pollard, Government Engineer of British Guiana, Mr. H. A. Firth, Emigration Agent for British Guiana at Calcutta, Mr. F. Lubbock, Mr. Fauntleroy (Jamaica), Mr. P. N. Bernand; Mr. J. Dennistoun Wood (late Attorney-General, Victoria).

The **CHAIRMAN** called upon Mr. Labilliere, Member of the Council, to read the minutes of the Sixth Ordinary General Meeting, which were confirmed.

The **CHAIRMAN** then called upon Mr. **NEVILLE LUBBOCK** to read the following paper on

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE WEST INDIA COLONIES.

The West India Colonies—consisting of Jamaica, the islands extending southward, and British Guiana, which is on the northern seaboard of the South American Continent—possess a varied history,

and show distinct characteristics, arising, in no small measure, from the manner in which they have been acquired or settled. Being all situated within the tropical region, they are alike in conditions of climate and in the produce of the soil, sugar being the one great staple of the whole. Coffee is cultivated on the hill-sides of Jamaica, as it was formerly in Dominica, until plant disease and other calamities swept the whole industry away. It was also produced in Trinidad, Grenada, St. Vincent, and St. Lucia. Trinidad still has some of its coffee cultivation, and at present, besides sugar, cocoa is largely grown. Jamaica is celebrated for ginger and pimento, and for rum, the manufacture of which usually accompanies that of sugar. The hard woods of British Guiana—a place formerly distinguished for its coffee and cotton—and the logwood of Jamaica, must also be included among West Indian products. But the most extensive industry has been that of sugar; and this is not surprising, considering the richness of the soil and other natural facilities, which led to the investment of large capital, and to hopes of profitable returns, such expectations having been justified by an ever-increasing demand for that which promised to be—and has, indeed, since become—an almost universal article of food.

“The circumstances of climate,” Bryan Edwards says, “as well in regard to general heat as to the periodical rains and consequent variations of seasons, are nearly the same throughout the whole of the West Indies. The temperature varies, indeed, considerably, according to the elevation of the land; but, with this exception, the medium degree of heat is much the same in all the countries of this part of the globe.”

The Colonies are not only refreshed during a considerable period by the sea breezes or trade winds, but are exempt from sudden violent changes from great heat to great coolness, and *vice versâ*. The thermometer ranges generally between 70 and 90 degrees in the shade; and, according to the same writer, the accuracy of whose descriptions all visitors to these regions will probably recognise, “the nights are transcendently beautiful; the clearness and brilliancy of the heavens, the serenity of the air, the soft tranquillity in which Nature reposes, contribute to harmonise the mind and produce the most calm and delightful sensations.” Most of the islands, it is true, are subject to hurricanes, but these are exceptional, and not ordinary occurrences, and the liability to them has no appreciable influence upon cultivation or the value of property. The West Indian year may be divided into two seasons, the wet and dry, and their periodical recurrence is of vital importance to the success of the sugar industry. At certain times the

skies are anxiously watched for the rain, whilst the full value of the reaping and manufacturing period is dependent upon comparatively dry weather. Rain is necessary to fill the canes with juice; but if unduly prolonged, it interferes with grinding operations. The connection between rainfall and crops is now acknowledged to be, and treated as, a scientific fact. In Barbados, for instance, elaborate observations have been made. As Governor Rawson once pointed out, "Sugar is the dry bulb, and the rainfall the wet bulb, of the instrument by which the well-being of the island may be annually gauged." Every inch of rain in that Colony, falling seasonably during a specified period, produces 800 hhds. of sugar, a calculation which has been sufficiently verified to have become the basis of estimates of crop. British Guiana and Trinidad also possess rainfall statistics, and it is desirable that observations should be made in all the Colonies. As Chief Justice Doyle said, in his farewell address to Antigua a few weeks ago, "What you look to here is your sugar crops; but without rain, no canes—without canes, no sugar." It may be repeated, however, that rain at the wrong season is an evil, as a deficiency in the yield from the cane sometimes proves.

The West India Colonies, therefore, producing one great staple, subject to the same conditions of climate, have a common interest which may be regarded as a whole; but, on the other hand, each Colony has characteristics peculiar to itself. Barbados, for instance, has an abundant population, which is the basis of its prosperity; British Guiana and Trinidad regard immigrant labour as the cause of their success; Jamaica, with a large population and plenty of opportunities for small settlers, is languishing for labour for the cultivation of the staple—labour which is not available, perhaps, mainly because of the absence of that stimulus, that pressure for the means of living, which is found in colder, less bountiful climates and more crowded countries. The Leeward Islands, too, are especially interesting just now, because of the experiment of Federalism which is being tried in them, apparently without the anticipated success. All these are subjects which may be worth discussion; but at first it will be desirable to look at the Colonies as a whole, as having a common interest subject to home influences and Imperial legislation.

The average value of imports and exports of the West India Colonies for the six years from 1822 to 1827, amounted as nearly as possible to £15,000,000. At this time the agitation for the abolition of slavery, which had been rapidly growing since the beginning of the century, had necessarily begun to tell upon the Colonies. In 1830 the imports and exports had fallen to £12,500,000. From

1833 to 1837, including the greater part of the period of apprenticeship, the profits of sugar cultivation, owing to the high price of labour and other matters incident to the change, had materially diminished, if they had not disappeared altogether, but many estates were kept together, and the average imports and exports of these five years were under £12,000,000. The real struggle of free labour against slave labour had not yet come, because the Colonies had a certain advantage in the home market from the differential duties ; which had been maintained by Great Britain as much, however, to secure the monopoly of the Colonial trade as for the benefit of the Colonies. The crisis was reached in 1846, as proved by the fact that the imports and exports from that year to 1850 averaged only £8,250,000. The situation was well described, and the consequences of the equalisation of the duties on free and slave grown sugar accurately foretold, by Lord Stanley, in 1846, when he said in the House of Lords : “In the present state of the West Indies, competition with slave-grown sugar cannot be carried on upon equal terms. I don't contend that in a fully-peopled country, where the demand for employment is equal to the demand for labour, the willing energetic action of free labour is not infinitely more valuable, and cheaper in the end, than the labour of slaves. But this I do contend, that where you have not the command of that labour, where there is a boundless extent of country, where you have not the means of bringing labour to bear on the point where it is required, to talk of a fair competition between free labour and slave labour would be a mockery ; but it would be more, it would be a cruel mockery to talk of it to those whom you have placed in their present position by your legislation, and whom you now call upon to enter upon an unequal competition.” In short, with an abundance of labour, as in Barbados, the cost of production has, perhaps, not been greater as a rule than in the slave countries, although even in this island it was so for a time ; but in those Colonies where the labour was scarce, and the labourer was contented with the profits of three or four days' work—or even less—in a week, and great expense had to be incurred to bring immigrants from distant places, the cost of production was necessarily higher than in Cuba, where the labour supply was fed by thousands of slaves annually transported from Africa, and in more recent years, under an equally bad system, by Chinese from Macao. Here, indeed, in the relative command or availability of labour, lies the principal answer to the question, why, considering the enormous increase in the consumption of sugar, have not the West India Colonies proportionately increased their production ? Cuba in-

creased her production from 200,000 tons in 1844, to 700,000 tons in 1873 ; but in 1844 the production of our Colonies was 131,000 tons, in 1854 it averaged 150,000 tons, and from 1870 to 1874 the average was, in round numbers, 220,000 tons, an advance not to be compared with the immense strides of Cuba.

The effect of the changes brought about principally by Imperial legislation may be seen more strikingly by reference to particular Colonies. The largest sugar crop ever made in Jamaica—perhaps the most fertile of all these countries—was in 1805, when it reached 150,000 hogsheads ; in 1833, at the time of Emancipation, it was 85,000 hogsheads ; in 1839, at the close of apprenticeship, it fell to 49,000 hogsheads, a large acreage of canes not being taken off the ground ; in 1846 it had fallen to 36,000 hogsheads. During the last few years it has averaged between 25,000 and 30,000 hogsheads ; and in the present year (1877) it is doubtful whether it will exceed this latter quantity. The number of sugar estates abandoned in Jamaica between 1832 and 1848 was 140, covering 168,032 acres, and employing 22,553 labourers ; of coffee plantations 465, covering 188,400 acres, and employing 26,830 labourers. Take, again, the case of British Guiana : in the year 1829 the exports of the Colony were 66,772 hogsheads of sugar, 6,778,850 pounds of coffee, and 7,272 bales of cotton. In earlier times coffee and cotton were the principal productions of this Colony, but the extreme suitability of the soil for sugar had led to large investments of capital in the formation of estates. The exports in 1839, when the apprenticeship system terminated, fell at once from an average of 66,000 hogsheads to 38,443 hogsheads, and from that date to 1846 they only averaged 35,949 hogsheads. The Colony struggled manfully to work out the problem of free labour, but hopes of success were discouraged by the sugar legislation of 1846. A comparison of the crop of 1849 with that of 1829 (already given) will show the change in twenty years. The 1849 crop was as follows : 32,000 hogsheads of sugar, 91,056 pounds of coffee, and the cotton cultivation had entirely disappeared. The power of production of an estate in British Guiana depends upon the amount spent in draining, good cultivation, houses, hospital, cottages, boiling houses and sugar machinery. But if labour be not available, estates which have cost many thousands of pounds to establish become practically valueless. This was the case not only in Guiana, but in other parts of the West Indies. Houses fell into ruins ; scenes of busy activity and life were succeeded by that most mournful of all pictures, a tropical desolation. People who had once been labourers became squatters, a word with a totally different meaning in the West Indies to that

which has clung around it in Canada or Australia, for many negroes went into the bush, far away from civilising influences, and tended to relapse into savage life. Sir J. P. Grant, in his earlier despatches and minutes as Governor of Jamaica, refers to this evil of squatting as one most difficult to overcome. And as agriculture declined so did the commerce dependent upon it. This was the state of the case while the law of 1846 was developing itself towards complete equalisation. But in 1854 matters had begun to mend. In the sparsely-populated Colonies labour was being obtained from India and other places, and although some of the Colonies made little or no progress, yet the recovery in British Guiana and Trinidad has slowly brought the total imports and exports of the West Indies back to something like their former prosperous level. From 1851 to 1860 the total average imports and exports reached £9,667,000; from 1860 to 1870 the average rose to £12,153,000; while the figures given in the statistical tables for 1874—as showing the position of the Colonies from the latest official records—may be discussed in some little detail.

These Colonies have a population, in round numbers, of 1,250,000. A very interesting question might be discussed here as to the future of the African race. As a whole it has increased, but the distribution has been unequal. In Barbados the population is now 960 to the square mile. In British Guiana the rate of increase has been slower. In Antigua the negroes have slightly decreased. These facts may be simply recorded without attempting to explain them. Medical care and attention is applied on a large scale. The doctors have recently been made responsible Government officers, and as the revenues increase and opportunities arise, closer inspection and other improvements are continually being effected.

The total revenue of the Colonies for 1874 was £1,623,081, and the expenditure, including repayment of loans, was £1,646,993. The public debt amounted to £1,391,152, a sensible diminution as compared with previous years. That the debt is relatively small may be seen from the fact that New Zealand, with a population of 450,000, including Chinese and Maories, has a debt of £20,000,000, and this latter is a new country, while the West Indies are old ones, which have passed through a long period of adverse fortune, during which debt might have been expected to accumulate. The principal of the West India debts were, in 1874, Jamaica, £665,000; British Guiana, £412,000; and Trinidad, £147,000. These have been incurred, doubtless, like that of New Zealand, mainly for labour and public works, and in these cases have been reproductive,

although there may have been exceptional cases in which expenditure has been extravagant.

The value of total imports in 1874 was £7,077,284 ; exports, £7,877,205 ; together, £14,954,489. Of the above amount of imports the United Kingdom contributed £8,224,467, and received of the exports £5,465,962. Provisions would naturally come from the nearest places ; the United States do, therefore, considerable business with the West Indies, and nothing would be more satisfactory than an increase in the exchange of commodities with Canada. The States, with their growing populations, are as large a consuming country of sugar as the United Kingdom, and they will naturally look for part of their supplies to the West Indies, as, indeed, they are doing at present on an increasing scale. A market in the States will certainly be an element of prosperity for our sugar Colonies in the future. The combined imports and exports divided among a population of 1,250,000 represents only £12 a head ; whilst a similar amount of trade in 1822-7, divided among 850,000 people, represents, say, £18 per head. But the time is probably not far off when the latter figure will be again attained.

So far, therefore, as the contest between free and slave labour is concerned, it will be observed how severe has been the struggle, and yet not altogether unsatisfactory, considering the conditions. A fall from £15,000,000 of trade to £8,250,000, a gradual rise to £9,000,000 and £10,000,000 ; and then through another course of years to £15,000,000 again, is the summary of the commercial history of the West Indies. In Cuba, now that the slave trade from Africa and the Macao emigration have been stopped, the cost of labour has been much increased, while the continued state of anarchy in which the island is now kept, and the desertion of many labourers—both African and Chinese—from estates, have materially interfered with cultivation. Slave production, therefore, shows signs of future disaster after a wonderful and unexampled prosperity of thirty years, and it may be that, after a corresponding period of depression, our Colonies will show to the world the final triumph of free labour.

But it is impossible confidently to forecast the future while another element of unfair antagonism remains. There has grown up on the Continent of Europe, under the influence of protection and export bounties, an enormous sugar industry, against which our Colonies have necessarily to compete. The motive which impelled the first Napoleon to encourage the cultivation of the Beet-root for sugar-making may have disappeared, but the injury to English Colonial interests has been no less grave than if that motive

still existed. We could not complain, of course, of any dimensions the Beet industry might assume, if it proved that it could supply the world with sugar at a cheaper rate than we could. But we have every reason to object to a state of things in which excessive production is stimulated by export bounties, and prices in our own market kept down below the natural cost of production, entailing the ruin of our loaf sugar industry. The production of Beet sugar in France, in 1861, was 160,000 tons, and in 1875 it was 475,000 tons, the bounty obtained upon export being estimated by Professor Leone Levi in an address to the Society of Arts at 8s. per cwt., or £8 per ton. But it is not only in France that bounties are given. In Austria the drawback system was practised to such an extent as to absorb, in 1874, 7,595,243 florins, out of a total taxation of sugar of 9,528,648 florins, leaving only as the balance received by the State 1,668,405 florins. It is even said that the whole of the revenue is now absorbed in drawbacks, and that the sugar duties involve a loss to the revenue. Russia, too, has quite recently commenced to grant bounties on export, and sugar has been shipped in considerable quantities. The West India Colonies have not remained silent under this state of things. Repeated protests have been made. Conference after conference between England, France, Belgium, and Holland has taken place. One of these has only just concluded its labours by a Convention, which will no doubt cause an improvement if it is ratified and loyally carried out—respecting which, however, there seems some doubt. In the meantime the English refiners, who would naturally be large purchasers of West Indian sugar, are left in a state of uncertainty, and it may be said that the loaf sugar industry of the United Kingdom has been almost entirely destroyed. All other means failing, the only effective remedy would be the imposition of a countervailing duty equal to the bounty that may be enjoyed by any sugar coming into this country. There seems, however, a reluctance to adopt this course ; but it is evident that so long as the inequality is allowed, the West India Colonies cannot have that full prosperity to which they are entitled, and which they would certainly possess under a system of international free trade. No one could be expected to invest capital in an industry liable at any moment to be affected by the capricious action of foreign governments.

A general view of the position of the West India Colonies in its relation to slave-grown and bounty-fed sugar may be obtained from the following calculation, which, although only brought down to the end of the year 1878, is still strikingly forcible. The average

increase in the production of sugar-cane and beet during the sixteen years ending with 1878 was 1,215,501 tons. To this increase, Cuban slave-grown and Continental beet sugar contributed 1,118,372 tons, leaving the rest of the sugar-producing countries—including our own Colonies—to contribute 97,129 tons. Lest it should be thought that this absence of progress has been due to a want of enterprise, skill, or capital peculiar to the West Indies, it may be as well to point out that the same absence of progress has been experienced in Mauritius, Java, Louisiana, India ; in fact, in every sugar-producing country of the world except Cuba, with its advantages of slave labour, and the European beet-growing countries with their advantages of export bounties. The Board of Trade returns for 1876 afford another general illustration of the position of British sugar. Out of a total importation of 918,489 tons, we received from the British West Indies and Guiana, Mauritius and India, only 277,695 tons, the importation from countries where slave or partially free labour is used being 346,999 tons, and from the beet countries 293,795 tons.

It now remains to make a few remarks upon some of the most important points relating to particular Colonies ; and the first thing to be noticed is the means by which British Guiana and Trinidad have achieved their comparative success. The statement that the value of an estate depends not so much upon the land as upon the drainage, houses, and machinery—all of which are in their turn dependent upon the labour—is especially true of British Guiana. Guiana is a vast country, intersected by wonderful rivers ; but the interior region is little known and only partially explored. The cultivated part is the strip of country on the coast, originally won from the sea by Dutch perseverance and enterprise, and kept in proper condition by English capital, engineering, and skill. There are between 150 and 160 plantations, some of them running inland to the extent of several miles. There is every variety of work and labourer on an estate, from the ordinary field hand and cane carrier, to artisans and holders of more responsible position in the boiling-houses. There may be a thousand people on a large estate, comprising Indian coolies, Chinese, and negroes. For these, the planter finds work and wages, houses and hospital, and, jointly with the Government, medical supervision and attendance. Without immigrants, it may in truth be said, no capital would have been attracted to the Colony, no estates would have been maintained or new ones formed, no sugar made. There would have been few openings for professional men, and little need for ships ; public revenues would have been insignificant, and institutions

of little worth and efficiency. There would have been no Governor with a salary equal to that of an English Prime Minister, and the patronage of the Home Government would have been much less important than it is. The original Portuguese immigrants from Madeira have taken to trade, and now form not the least prosperous of the trading classes of the Colony. Africans and Chinese are not now introduced. English sentiment would rather condemn the African tribes to their own wars, savageness, slavery, and misery, than allow an African to be taken to a country where he can earn a decent living and have a chance of civilisation and Christianity. Mr. Palgrave prophesies, in his recent work on Dutch Guiana, a splendid future for the African, and also for these West Indian countries, if such an emigration could be established. China, too, is swarming with labourers. They can be taken in thousands to Cuba, worked all day long like slaves, and guarded at night in barracoons; they can be taken to work and die in Peruvian mines; they can go to America and Australia in such numbers that the Europeans turn against them, and vainly try to stem the flood. In our Colonies, Chinese would be welcome. They would be well treated, and plenty of remunerative work would be open to them, and it is hoped that the British Government will now do all that is possible to assist the Colonial authorities in attracting so much valuable labour to this field of work. The supply of labour which, during the last twenty-five years, has been of such advantage to British Guiana and Trinidad, has come from the East Indies under a system frequently criticised but perfectly sound. It has for its basis, as explained by Sir John Strachey in the Council of the Governor-General in 1869, "the right of every subject of Her Majesty to go anywhere he pleased—to the very ends of the earth, if he thought fit—for the sake of bettering his condition." Sir A. Hobhouse, in the same Council, in 1873, said: "If you took a man away from a place where he only earned so much, and removed him to a place where he earned many times as much, you enriched the whole world, and not the least the place from which the emigrant came, and into which a portion of his acquired wealth was quite certain to flow."

Again he said: "Anyone who studied the returns, which we had of the doings of our emigrants in many parts of the world would find that, wherever they went, they became far more wealthy and prosperous than they were in India; that a very considerable number of them returned to India, bringing with them substantial sums of money; and that of these, some—not a very few—were so satisfied with their foreign life, that they returned to the Colony

where they had made their money. These seemed very conclusive proofs that the direct effect of emigration was to improve the welfare of the emigrants. Its indirect effect was that a man returned to his home with independence and more self-respect; he had got a new set of ideas, which travel will always give to the most torpid mind; he had lost that mysterious horror of the sea which infected the people of this country; he would communicate those ideas to the people about him, and it was impossible not to believe that such influences, if continued for a length of time and on a considerable scale, would do as much as anything could do to elevate the people of this country who were affected by them."

That the emigration is an advantage to India, especially in times of famine or distress, is further most conclusively shown by Lord Salisbury in a despatch to the Governor-General of India, dated 24th March, 1875, as follows: "Having regard to the greatness of our Indian population, and to the probability that, under the protection which the British Government affords from depopulation by war, and, as far as possible, from famine and other evils, that population must continue very greatly to increase—especially in the healthier and more densely peopled parts of the country, where the numbers already press on the means of subsistence, and the lowest classes are at all times little removed from want—it appears to me that, from an Indian point of view, it is desirable to afford an outlet from these redundant regions into the tropical and sub-tropical dominions of Her Majesty, where people who hardly earn a decent subsistence in their own country may obtain more lucrative employment and better homes. While then, from an Indian point of view, emigration, properly regulated, and accompanied by sufficient assurance of profitable employment and fair treatment, seems a thing to be encouraged on grounds of humanity, with a view to promote the well-being of the poorer classes, we may also consider, from an imperial point of view, the great advantage which must result from peopling the warmer British possessions, which are rich in natural resources and only want population, by an intelligent and industrious race to whom the climate of these countries is well suited, and to whom the culture of the staples suited to the soil, and the modes of labour and settlement, are adapted. In this view also it seems proper to encourage emigration from India to Colonies well fitted for an Indian population. Under extraordinary circumstances—such as famine, flood, or other great calamities, when large numbers of the poorer classes are deprived of the means of subsistence, or are left without house and home—the Government officers might themselves engage emigrants for those

Colonies which have agreed to receive people recruited under such circumstances."

Lord Carnarvon, in addressing the House of Lords on the 19th July, 1875, said: "With regard to the condition of the coolies, it was shown last year by Sir Bartle Frere that in Bengal the coolies, under the improved conditions at present existing, could not earn more than 1½d. or 2d. per day. It was equally clear that in English Colonies the same coolies could earn as much as 10s. or 11s. per week, with all the additional advantages of good homes in which to live, proper medical attendance when sick, and a free return passage to their own country, if they desired it, at the end of their periods of service. It was clear to his mind that those persons who spoke of the coolie system as a modified form of slavery, threw about words with a recklessness and imprudence which could not fail to prove mischievous. As showing the prosperity which followed coolies in British Colonies, he might state that in the eight years ending with 1872, more than 2,100 coolies returned to their own countries from British Guiana, taking with them no less than £64,000, which they had saved. This was in addition to sums amounting in all to £40,000, which were invested by coolies in the banks of Trinidad."

The figures given by Lord Carnarvon may be extended. From 1857 to 1875 inclusive, the number of immigrants who returned to India from British Guiana was 7,700; but this number included 1,814 children. The money remitted through Government, and carried with them (so far as the latter could be ascertained), was £204,688 sterling, averaging for the men and women £92 per head—a result which can rarely if ever be shown by the English agricultural labourer after ten or twenty years of work. These facts are sufficient to prove that to the industrious immigrant—African, Indian, or Chinese—the West India Colonies offer a favourable field and great opportunities. Some very striking instances of individual coolie wealth might be mentioned if necessary. Another proof of the condition and treatment of the immigrants is that some, after going back to India, return to the Colonies. From 1872 to 1876, 349 so re-emigrated, and of this number seventy-three paid their own passages, besides again remitting for use in the Colony the money they had originally earned and saved there. Indeed, evidence of the condition of these people might be indefinitely extended. Testimony of all kinds of authority might be given, such as missionaries, popular writers like Canon Kingsley, observers like Mr. Underhill, the Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, and officials of every rank. One principal feature is the indenture for five years, and all who have had experience of the

system, from Lord Harris in 1848 to Sir James Longden in 1877, declare the indenture to be indispensable. Sir J. Longden said in his farewell address to British Guiana, a few weeks ago: "The indenture, with the advantages it secures to the Indian coolies, is as necessary for their own protection as it is to guard the interests of the employers." The mortality on the estates is low; a large number of strong and healthy children are growing up, in praise of whose condition the Guiana Commissioners of 1870 spoke strongly. The immigrants are not unfairly worked, and in British Guiana the average is about four full days in the week. The Rev. Mr. Morton, a missionary from the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia, gives some results of his observation in Trinidad: "A young man who attends one of our schools, goes out at six o'clock in the morning with his young wife, and very frequently walks into school at ten o'clock, he and his wife having finished their tasks, and earned between them half-a-crown. Some days they do three tasks between them, earning 8s. 9d., and finish by eleven o'clock. After school they cultivate their garden, and nine barrels of rice in the husks, and six of corn, show that their labour is rewarded. Yesterday, when visiting the Jere School, I saw a new coolie, who has only been two weeks in the island, enter the schoolroom at one o'clock p.m. He had finished his task, taken his breakfast, and walked one and a half miles to school." The foregoing extract throws some light upon the life of a coolie in the West Indies. At all events, it is surely better than starving by the roadside or crowding the Government relief works in India.

The question of the apportionment of the expense of immigration has been often discussed, especially in its relation to the rights and position of the negro. In Demerara and Trinidad it has always been a recognised principle that the general revenue should bear a part of the expense. The reason for this arrangement will be found clearly stated in the following extract of a speech to the Guiana Legislature, by Sir P. Wodehouse in 1859: "Since he had come to the Colony he had endeavoured to continue immigration on such a footing as would do most good to all. His reason for so doing was simply because he believed that there was not a single class of the population of the Colony that was not vitally concerned in the continuance of immigration. It may not be that every class equally derive benefit from the introduction of immigrants into the Colony, but it was clear that all derived benefit. He believed that the estates could not be maintained if immigration ceased. The mercantile community, if the estates were abandoned, would find a cessation of trade; the public funds of the Colony would be dis-

tressed, and public officers would lose their salaries and their occupations in life; the mass of the population of the Colony would also suffer, inasmuch as, if the salaries were ruined, the necessary consequences would be the loss of all those social, and political, and civil institutions which, in point of fact, constitute civilisation. Lastly, he conceived it was essential to the good of the immigrants themselves, inasmuch as, if the promises that were made to them were fairly carried out, there could be no question as to the benefits conferred upon them by their coming to this side of the globe."

It is quite true that one source of revenue is the Import duty; but in Demerara and Trinidad at least the negro can be independent of imported food if he chooses. The ground provisions supply his wants, and the trenches in the former Colony yield abundance of fish. But supposing he does pay a small portion of taxation, the advantages he obtains in return are very great. His interest in this question could not be better stated than it was by the Rev. Mr. Underhill. His words have been often quoted, but although written in 1859 they are perfectly true at this day, and apply with even greater force now to British Guiana, Trinidad, and Jamaica than they did in 1859, when they were intended only for Trinidad: "There remains but one other subject to notice—the effect of the coolie immigration on the prospects of the negro population. Singularly enough, contrary to usual expectation, it has improved the condition of the negroes. True, the negroes are no longer the chief dependence of the planter for the production of sugar. On the 158 sugar estates of the island, the field-work is almost entirely performed by coolies. The command of coolie labour enjoyed by the planter has increased the growth of the sugar-cane and induced the extension of sugar cultivation. With this there has necessarily arisen a demand for hedges and ditches, for drainage, for carpenters, coopers, engine-men, boiler-men, mule-drivers, lumberers, and clearances of forest-land. The demand for ground provisions to supply the wants of the coolie labourers has increased, and the cattle employed on the estates must be fed. There is, therefore, a great demand for skilled labour, and for labour of a more remunerative kind than that of the cane-field. The garden produce finds a better market. All these occupations and duties are being rapidly taken up by the negro. He is removed from the position of a mere servitor, and is paid better for the exertions he puts forth. The coolie is, therefore, no competitor with the negro in the labour market, and no ill feeling exists because of the displacement of the one by the other. Coolie labour opens a wider field of exertion to

the negro, and he is rapidly becoming the artisan and skilled labourer of the Trinidad community.

“This interesting and important result could only have taken place in a country where the amount of labour accessible was far below the wants of the community. But it must be a cause of gratulation to the friends of the African race that in this instance a system, which at first sight seemed calculated to lower the rate of wages, and to deprive the negro of the market for his labour to which he had the right to look for employment, has resulted in his advantage, and in opening to him sources of remunerative employment which, as a mere agriculturist, tied to the soil, he never could have realised. His position is improved, and there is required of him higher forms of labour than can be executed by the cutlass or the hoe.

“Many years must elapse before population in Trinidad will overtake the means of easy subsistence. At present, not one-twentieth part of the soil is under cultivation. Noble forests clothe the mountain sides, where coffee and cocoa would grow in great abundance, while the land adapted for sugar is overrun with brushwood, or forms extensive savannahs of grass. However rapidly emigration may proceed, it cannot but conduce, under its present wise regulations and direction, to the welfare of all classes, and to the commercial prosperity of the island.”

Immigration is therefore beneficial to the coolie and the negro. What effect it has had upon the Colonies may now be shown. The value of imports in 1850 was : Demerara, £785,157, and in 1874, £1,878,219 ; Trinidad, 1850, £476,910 ; 1874, £1,342,998. Exports, Demerara, 1850, £815,421 ; 1874, £2,761,838 : Trinidad, 1850, £319,294 ; 1874, £1,412,261. This steady increase is connected with and has arisen from an annual introduction of immigrant labour. The public revenue of both these Colonies has of course largely increased, and institutions for the benefit of all classes are more liberally supported.

Of the condition of Jamaica a less satisfactory account can be given. From some cause, this Colony has not kept pace with Demerara and Trinidad. With a population of half a million, the sugar cultivation remains extremely small. The labour of the island is either directed to other objects than sugar, or is not productive at all. Vagrancy and squatting increase, and it is sad to see from the statistics of 1876 that there was an increase of crime. The large withdrawals from the savings-banks are not to be overlooked. The idle and lawless rob the provision-grounds of the industrious, a practice calculated to take the edge off industry

and prevent extension of the class of settlers on whom so much of the future welfare of the Island depends.

It might have been expected that, large numbers of people having withdrawn themselves from sugar estates' work, sufficient food would be raised from the soil to satisfy the island's consumption; but out of a total value of imports of £1,759,942, no less sums than £617,973 in 1874, £651,459 in 1875, and £580,135 in 1876 represented the value of imported food. Jamaica being an agricultural country, there should be large exports of its special products; then food and other articles might be imported in exchange, but without proportionate exports, whether the Colony has to buy food or raises sufficient for its own consumption, not only itself, but the world at large, is the poorer. Measures must be taken to encourage production and lessen vagrancy. Some proposals have been made for political changes; but these are probably undesirable beyond a strengthening of the independent element in the council, and a provision for a better criticism and check upon the rapid increase of the public expenditure. An increase of the public burdens, without a proportionate growth of production and trade, depreciates the value of property. The expenditure has increased from £819,322 in 1863-4 to £489,985 in 1874-5, under a purely official system of government. Expenditure upon reproductive works, such as railways, irrigation, roads (provided these are economically carried out), is an assistance to a growing country; but money spent upon unnecessary and non-reproductive works and buildings, and a multiplication of offices, is a culpable waste of resources. The expenditure of British Guiana and Trinidad has, no doubt, increased quite as largely as that of Jamaica, the difference being that it is founded upon and justified by larger exports, and taxation has not kept pace, as it has more than done in Jamaica, with the growth of taxable property. Some light may be thrown upon the relative condition of the Colonies by the following return:—

| | Population. | Exports, 1874. | Proportion per head of population. |
|--------------------|-------------|----------------|------------------------------------|
| Jamaica | 520,000 | ... £1,442,081 | ... £2 15 0 |
| British Guiana ... | 220,000 | ... 2,761,838 | ... 12 11 0 |
| Trinidad | 120,000 | ... 1,412,261 | ... 11 15 0 |

Barbados presents quite a different aspect of the West Indian question. The population by mere force of numbers has within itself a natural stimulus to labour, the consequence being that the island is cultivated to the water's edge. One peculiarity of the manufacture here is the use of windmills for the grinding power. No extension of cultivation being possible, every effort must be

directed to obtaining a greater weight of canes and a larger quantity of juice. A good deal has been said recently about the state of the population, but it is not necessary here to enter into vexed questions. It is evident the labourer is satisfied with his condition, or he would take greater advantage of the facilities offered for emigration. Many do go away, it is only for a few months—the next crop season sees them back. The incidence of taxation is lightly felt. An elaborate analysis of the revenue, showing the classes by whom it is paid, has recently been made, and the conclusion arrived at may be quoted here:—

“The upper and middle classes, which include all who are connected with land in whatever form, except that of labourers, pay £75,157 towards the general revenue, and the population at large pay £48,711, more than a third of which is paid upon luxuries. To the above £75,157, paid by the upper and middle classes, is to be added £34,000 of parochial taxation, making together £109,157. Assuming that the number belonging to these classes is 20,000, we have in round numbers a contribution of nearly £5 10s. per head for the public purposes of the Colony. Assuming the general population to be 150,000, we have a contribution from them of about 6s. 6d., and it is impossible to say that this is an unfair proportion.”

With regard to the Leeward Islands, Lord Granville wrote to Sir Benjamin Pine in 1870, “that Her Majesty’s Government have arrived at the conclusion that a federation of the Islands is desirable, as tending to a better and more economical administration of their affairs, to be followed by a revision and reduction of the present taxation, and that it is with the view of securing to the Colonists the important social and material benefits which cannot fail to result from a well-considered scheme of Federation, that I desire to have their best attention now directed to the question.”

Mr. Goldwin Smith, in the *Fortnightly Review*, says that Confederation in Canada has done nothing to fuse the races, and very little even to unite the Provinces; and he adds that “Confederation, brought about by external influence, is apt to develop the principles of antagonism in at least an equal degree.”

If this be true of Canada it seems to be still more true of the West India Islands, possessing most diverging characteristics and different laws and institutions, to bring which into apparent symmetry might involve injustice to particular Colonies. It is too soon, perhaps, to express a decided opinion, but it has not yet been proved that either economy or greater efficiency has followed, and the Leeward Islands (one of which, at least, is loudly complaining

of increased taxation and other grievances) are in no better financial or commercial position because of the change.

I have thus endeavoured to describe the present condition of the West India Colonies. There is no doubt much to regret in the past, but there is great hope for the future. What we want is that there should still be made a vigorous protest against slavery wherever it exists; that the protective systems and export bounties of foreign governments should be abolished; that immigration should be still further encouraged; and, above all, that the English Parliament and people should be induced to take a real interest in countries which are proud to be a part of the British Empire. They have suffered much, and hope to find at least a part of their reward in the just appreciation and generous sentiment of the mother-country.

DISCUSSION.

Major DUNCAN said he was anxious to make a few remarks in endorsement of the views expressed in Mr. Lubbock's terse and admirable paper while his experiences were yet fresh. He had recently returned from a sojourn in the largest island of those described (Jamaica), where he had been engaged by our Government in compiling an exhaustive Report on that island, during which time he gathered a deal of information with regard to the public opinion of the inhabitants which he could not otherwise have obtained. When he said the public opinion of the inhabitants of the island, he did not mean the opinion of the dominant race alone. He did not, indeed, invite the opinions of the black and white races indiscriminately, but choose those who could give valuable information. Mr. Lubbock had placed his finger on the two burning questions of the West Indian Colonies—first, the hostile legislation of some countries in Europe and of the United States, and secondly, the labour question. The first might be left to men better able to discuss it than he himself was, but he would like to say a word on the second. With regard to Jamaica, Mr. Lubbock took too much of a pessimist's view of its present condition. It was much larger and much less densely populated than any other of the islands. They should remember also that the exports of a country were not always the test of that country's wealth. There were in Jamaica a large number of squatters, who exported nothing, who did nothing, but who led a happy life. Give the negro his yam—he was not particular whether it was his own or his neighbour's—but give him his yam, and his hut, and the shade of a

tree, and he was as happy as the day was long. The negro had reached a stage which it was but natural that we should hope all of us some day to arrive at—the stage of not being obliged to work. That was the secret of a negro's idleness. They must not take the exports of Jamaica as a test of its wealth; but remember that the negroes could squat in this way in great numbers, and easily support themselves from the soil. They would work when they wanted to buy something of a gaudy colour; but when the critical time came for the crop to be gathered in, the negro, if he had enough money, would walk away; and therefore recourse must be had by planters to coolie labour, which was inferior, but constant. He thought Mr. Lubbock had wasted energy in urging that the coolie was well treated; because no man, it was well known, was so carefully looked after; and if any sympathy was to be bestowed, it should be given to the planter, who paid often for coolies when they were unable to work. Out of eighty on one plantation there were during an epidemic only seventeen working on one occasion, the remainder being in hospital at the expense of the planter. There was a planter's as well as a coolie's side of the question. When the island became densely populated by negroes, the question of imported labour would assume a more important and difficult aspect than at present. The negro now had no animosity towards the coolie, who merely offered another market for his ground provisions, and performed menial field-work; but there were a few parts of Jamaica where the island was so crowded that the negroes have to do such work themselves. In one part of the island they were working from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., and earning 1s. 6d. per diem. In such parts the question of coolie immigration would not have to be taken up at all, and those persons who did not use or require coolie labour were annoyed at having to pay for immigration by export duties on their produce, while those, on the other hand, who could not get negroes said it was for the good of the country that there should be coolie immigration. That was why there were found men from the same island taking different views on that point. The one thought it hard he should pay export duties on his produce, and the other said the island was going to the dogs because they could not get labour. They heard complaints of differential duties having been removed, and he was old-fashioned enough to urge England to meet hostile legislation from other countries with such differential duties; but he did not believe in England that they would ever see again any other policy than that now in existence. Therefore it was no use crying over spilt milk. Still he felt sure that with increasing population and the disappearance of slavery in Cuba

they would see the West Indies in the future cope with any other country on the Continent with their sugar, and it would become a home for our teeming population, and a happy home without the stain of slavery. They had every variety of climate there; and on the hills during the first nine months of last year they had half a regiment of men, a battery of artillery, and any number of women and children, and during that period they did not lose even a baby. For his own part, if the weather in England, like that which had raged for the last two days, blowing hurricanes, &c., continued, he himself should consider the propriety of returning to the hills of Jamaica. (A laugh.)

His Excellency HENRY T. IRVING, C.M.G., Governor of Trinidad, said that, being called upon by the Chairman, he would offer a few remarks on one subject which Mr. Lubbock's paper invited discussion upon, viz. the subject of coolie immigration. All who are acquainted with the history of the West Indies are aware that it was by immigration from India that British Guiana and Trinidad had been saved from ruin, and that a continuance of that immigration was essential to their future prosperity. It was a matter of fact on which there was no difference of opinion amongst those who know the history of those Colonies, their present condition, and future prospects; but there was one point connected with coolie immigration which he thought hardly sufficiently known or appreciated at home, and that was the great advantage which coolie immigration was to the coolie himself. Those people were brought from a country where there was a superfluity of population, where the peasant was oppressed by poverty, and by the caste habits of his country. They were brought, free of expense, and in perfect safety, provided with employment at good wages, supplied with gratuitous medical attendance, and carefully protected in every way. At the end of a few years they were either provided with a free passage back to India or granted what to the coolie was equivalent to a little "landed estate" in the shape of an allotment of Crown land. He thought that those were advantages of which in the case of an emigration to countries suited to European labour—to Australia, for example—English labourers would be too glad to have the offer. Coolie immigration not being a philanthropic movement, but a matter of business, the good which it effected incidentally was little known or appreciated; but he ventured to think that if the removal of coolies from India to the West Indies had been undertaken as a work of philanthropy, its results, in rescuing large numbers from poverty and caste degradation, and converting them in a few years into free, happy, and prosperous

peasant proprietors, would not fail to be appreciated and admired. It was, of course, essential that coolie immigration should be conducted under proper restrictions and safeguards on the part of the Government; but with these safeguards experience showed that the coolies could be brought from the East to the West Indies in perfect safety, and could be adequately protected during their term of indentured service. From Trinidad only a small proportion of the coolies availed themselves of their right of return passage to India at the termination of their industrial residence; the rest of them remained in the country of their adoption, either as traders or cultivators of the soil, and furnished a large and increasing class of free, happy, and independent settlers in the Colony. He mentioned those facts to show that while coolie immigration, as was well known, was a great advantage to Trinidad, it was at the same time (which was not equally well known) of great advantage to the coolie himself.

Mr. COLLINS, having during the last few years returned from a visit to Jamaica to see his estates, which had been in his family 200 years, could add a little information as to the condition in which the coolie population was with regard to immigration. He was driven round the island by an intelligent negro, whom he paid 8s. a week, and who informed him how he lived. He said he purchased two acres of ground near the bay at £6 an acre, and two acres elsewhere at £2 an acre. He paid something like £30 for his patrimony, and out of that expenditure he made no less than £40 from the sale of the products of his cultivation. To show how comfortable those people were, he was looking out from a house one morning, and saw an overseer having an altercation with the people. He thought he was going to have his canes cut down, and the negroes thought it too warm to bring their cutlasses. What did the man do? On that estate there happened to be forty coolies under the indenture system—which, he had to submit, was a most necessary system—but, having failed to get any assistance from the negroes, he at once turned to the coolies, people unwilling, but able, to do the more powerful work which the negro had been accustomed to. He set them to work to cut the canes which the negroes refused to do. There was one point which had not been mentioned by Mr. Lubbock; it was that the estates in Jamaica were altogether on a much more limited scale than in Demerara and Trinidad. The estates in Jamaica yielded 150 hogsheads; yet those in Demerara or Trinidad did not make anything less than 200. When they looked at the expense of machinery in promoting its manufacture and increasing production, it was

impossible in their estates in Jamaica to forego the enormous expense, and that, he thought, as well as the shorthandedness of the island, had tended to keep Jamaica back. At the beginning of this century, in 1830, one of the estates was reduced one-half its value; in 1846 that half was again reduced to one-third; and now, after a considerable period, during ten years of which it did not bring the family in anything at all, it had now recovered half its value in 1830.

Sir GEORGE YOUNG, Bart., said he came there to refresh his recollections of his visit to Demerara seven years ago, with the view also to add something to the knowledge he had then acquired, and in pursuance of an interest which he had taken since that time in everything which concerned the West Indies. If he might venture to offer any remarks before that audience, containing, he supposed, many much better acquainted even with the subject to which he had devoted his attention when in Demerara than himself (and possibly no one then present was so little competent to speak upon the general question), his remarks would be in reference to his own work when he acted in the official capacity of a Commissioner for inquiring into the existence of alleged grievances of the coolies in British Guiana. The report of the Commission of which he had the honour to be a member he believed had met the views in general of both parties to the discussion which at that time was going on. He was not aware, at all events, that it was very unkindly criticised, either by the planters, on the one hand, or by the agencies in this country which devoted so much attention to the aborigines and other inferior races in our Colonies, on the other. At the same time, experience had probably shown that the Commissioners, who only paid a passing visit to the Colonies and were obliged to report upon a vast and multifarious system, made some mistakes. He would therefore confine himself to the general issue which had been raised that evening, and endeavour to offer his contribution to a discussion of the question, the Asiatic immigration in the West Indian Colonies. There was no doubt that different views might be formed of the question according to the point from which it was regarded. Those who sit down in this country to peruse immigration Acts, and those who, like Major Duncan, had paid a passing visit to the Colony and seen the working of the system in a casual manner, were likely to be forcibly struck by the astonishing amount of care which was taken of the coolie immigrant. He appeared to be the gentleman of the Colonies, while the planter, his master, might seem to be his minister, or almost his slave. On the other hand, from time to time discussions arise

and circumstances happen which show there was another side to the question. This question, like every other, has a history, which must be taken into account before we can lay it down as a fact that England or that the Governments of the Colonies had acted in a "grandmotherly" way in elaborating that system of immigration laws. It must be remembered that when immigration was first tried, as is well known, it was not merely a failure, but so disastrous a failure as to startle the minds of commonplace people at home. The first immigration did not succeed in becoming a useful element in the State; so far from it, the immigrants vanished from the face of the earth; they were swept away, they utterly perished, by disease, and in other ways. And it was only after long experience, and by great care in the framing of regulations, that it was found possible to keep them alive under the new conditions of the life which they had to lead. Thus, after a certain number of years, no doubt, the immigration had become a success, and proved itself a most beneficial addition to the prospects—in fact, he might say a creation of new prospects—to those ruined Colonies. Since then, it was true—and the language used that night was in this respect by no means exaggerated—that the prosperity of the Colonies might be said to rest for its main pillar upon that system of immigration; and that it had, under all the circumstances, conduced to the happiness of the immigrants, as well as to the general prosperity and commercial wealth of the Colonies. With regard to the condition of the immigrants themselves, he had good reason to know this, not as having been in India himself, but as having had to examine the statements of those who had been there, and especially of the former President on the Commission to which he had referred—Mr. William Frere. Mr. Frere was a man who, after a long and useful life spent in the Civil Service of India, had devoted the work of his old age to the establishment of what it was now hoped would prove to be of as great benefit to the Indian populations as to the Colonies themselves—viz. the settling, upon a satisfactory basis, of the immigration systems of Guiana and the Mauritius. He remembered well that, when some younger member of the Commission would complain, for instance, of the houses or hospitals upon an estate not coming up the required standard of the law, Mr. Frere would say, "It is true the law must be complied with; but remember always that the actual physical conditions and comforts of life which these men enjoy here are much greater than anything they could command at their own homes." When he (Sir G. Young) returned from Demerara, one of the first persons he met was an eminent Indian statesman, who inquired where he

had been. On his asking at the same time the result of his labours, he (Sir George Young) informed him that the immigration had been in general approved, but they had recommendations to make for removing defects in the system. Thereupon that gentleman said "he was glad to hear it;" adding that he was sure the evil now to be apprehended in India, and which we must endeavour to avert, was a certain fearful prospect of over-population and consequent pauperism, compared to which nothing known in the West of Europe could compare. Fortunately, they had abolished in India the long-standing habit of internal warfare, and had checked the progress of famine. The result of all was that the population of India was increasing enormously, and there was the prospect before us that in a few years we should be faced by a problem of over-population with which we should not be able to grapple, unless the people of India could previously be brought to regard immigration as a possible alternative for poverty and starvation, unless their religious and social objections to crossing the sea could previously be broken down. He had said that the system under which the coolies were set to work on estates, if regarded from one side, might appear too elaborate; but if regarded from the other side, it might, on the contrary, in some respects be found, at times, to press rather hard upon the population of coolies. He knew he was speaking in a sense somewhat opposed to that adopted by preceding speakers; he would therefore mention a fact or two by way of instance. He found in Guiana, after several months of arduous labour, by examination of the books of estates, which had been freely placed at his disposal for the purpose, and by the tabulation of 80,000 entries of weekly wages, as earned by all classes of coolie labourers in all parts of the Colony, that the average wages of the coolies stood almost exactly at the figure required by the law as the minimum—namely, 5s. a week; the law saying that if a coolie did not earn at least 5s. a week he should be liable to imprisonment. Well, that enactment, of course, could not be supported for an instant after he had proved the case to be as above stated, and it was accordingly abolished. He believed the abolition of that provision of the law had not been found to seriously interfere with the working of estates. Others had been substituted; and although all such provisions must be more or less ineffectual—because with Indians they could not expect to get even a very low minimum of labour regularly accomplished—yet he believed there was a considerable amount of efficient labour got out of them, and the result was to be seen in those most promising statistics which had been read that night. In conclusion, he would say, discussions had

arisen as to many parts of the artificial system of labour which was in vogue, and there were sure to be discussions in future, arising out of an artificial system like this, where they had tried to cover all the needs of an immense working population, held artificially in a dependent condition. It therefore became a serious question whether they ought not to look somewhat further ahead, and consider if there might be any way to get out of the artificial condition, and by degrees arrive at a more natural state of things ; that was to say, whether they could not see an end of the system under which large masses of imported labour were located permanently on particular estates, and left absolutely dependent upon the prosperity of the estate to which it was confined, or even of the industry to which it was at present devoted—an industry, the condition of which, as they had heard, was from time to time so precarious. He did not expect or wish to recommend the withdrawal of the coolies from the sugar plantations, because it was for the cultivation of sugar that they had been imported to the Colonies, and it was but natural and desirable that they should be employed there. But he would like to see the attention of those who were interested, pecuniarily and otherwise, in British Guiana, directed to this point, namely, to see if the time-expired coolies—those who had worked through the period of their indenture—could not be settled in some way upon the land. He spoke from hearsay ; he believed that in Trinidad this had been attempted with considerable success. By success he meant that the coolies who in Trinidad had been settled on the land—those who, in Mr. Irving's words, had received “landed estates”—(laughter)—a phrase to which some exception might be taken : what a coolie received was a patch of land upon which he could maintain himself as a peasant—had thriven well, and, he believed, would continue to thrive, and afford to those who visited them most satisfactory indications of increasing prosperity ; while at the same time they were not withdrawn from the estates on which they still worked for wages. In Demerara nothing of the kind had been attempted. He was aware that the condition of the land in Demerara was such that it was most difficult to arrange for the coolies to settle on the land. The estates were, as was well known, under the level of the sea, and had to be kept free from inundation by a vast system of drainage. It was a problem only to be solved if the statesmen resident in the West Indian Colonies would give it their attention. It was incumbent on them to grapple with it. He believed it would be found some day—looking to the rapid changes in opinion—that if immigration was to continue they should be able to point, in Demerara

and Jamaica also, to a body of coolies settled on the land, following their occupation of cultivating the land as free peasants, not by any means withdrawn from the labour supply of the estates, nor yet absolutely dependent upon them, but remaining there as an independent, solid element in the political and social system of the Colony, not mere proletarians, or like the slaves upon the old Roman *latifundia*, but under a system by which those estates in Demerara and elsewhere might be furnished with a continuous supply of free labour. It was that which was recommended by the Commission of 1870, and it had caused him considerable disappointment and some concern to see that hitherto no serious attempt had been made in that Colony to grapple with this great difficulty. And he declared that unless the difficulty were dealt with, the coolie immigration in Demerara would always continue in a precarious condition, and possibly at some future time—rashly it might be, foolishly it might be—but still possibly, it might be stopped. (Cheers.)

Mr. BEAUMONT thought that no subject deserved more anxious or more hopeful consideration from that audience than the question of the evening. He rejoiced to have heard the thoughtful views of Sir George Young, for it seemed to him unfortunate that, amongst those who spoke of, and who no doubt desired to represent truthfully, the state of things in the West Indies, so little attention appeared to be given to the position of the labouring classes themselves, their prospects, and their future position, though these are the bases on which the position of the capitalists, no less than the honour and credit of this country in respect of those Colonies, must depend. The same drift of thought which Sir G. Young had directed to the coolie should be directed also to the position and prospects of the negro labourer in the West Indies; and, having due regard to their antecedents and present position, the question was not merely whether they were or were not the most diligent labourers that the planters might desire to have at their command. The thing was, to consider how were they prospering, what were they doing, and what was the basis on which their future rested; were they to be dealt with as having interests of their own, or exclusively as bound to labour in the interests of those who employed them? Those questions affected both them and the planters, the whole of the country as well as the Colonies. With regard to the position of the coolies, he thought Sir George Young had pointed out enough to indicate how highly *coulour de rose* was the picture of the position in which those people in Trinidad were. He should like to contrast their real position with that picture as it had been

put to the meeting. Take the fact which was mentioned by Major Duncan by way of illustration of how highly favoured their position was in Jamaica—that, out of eighty coolies on one estate, sixty-three were in hospital. That was the illustration he gave to show what a splendid people the coolies were, and as a proof of how very superior was their lot as compared even with that of their employers. Well, that, of course, was a particular instance; but he was quite sure that Sir George Young could show, if he were to give details on the subject, that it was only an instance of what might be brought forward on the other side of this serious question. He laid stress upon the momentous considerations as to the position of the people, the rather because he agreed with everything that had been said by those who spoke highly of the West Indies. He thought their industrial history had been, on the whole, even a triumph. Geographically, they were a most noble range of Colonies, and perhaps none had afforded more abundant sources of wealth to us and happiness to those connected with them than the West Indies. But it was unfortunately found that, when brought into discussion, they were too often treated, not as bodies politic with independent social interests, but rather as an aggregation of sugar estates, the appanage of a number of gentlemen, whose merits he did not seek to depreciate, nor the value of their capital or enterprise, though he objected to the assumption that some five or six hundred planters and merchants were exclusively or even mainly interested in the prosperity of these important Colonies. He agreed, indeed, that on a true view of their interests they were bound up and identical with those of the labouring classes, who form the peoples of those Colonies; for he was convinced that whatever would advance their welfare could not fail in the long run to operate for the advantage of those whose capital was invested in the West Indies. But they must learn to recognise and foster the independent interests and industries of the people. Instead of stigmatising as “squatters” or by other epithets used by way of reprobation those who acquired independent holdings, he thought that they ought to be respected for their independence, although they might not labour in the way or up to the point which those who would command their labour desired—whose position, indeed, they contributed to make, but whose expectations were not easily satisfied always. He was convinced that if those who had the responsibility in this matter would give more attention to and a more generous recognition of the rights and interests of the labouring classes—not as if they were subversive of but rather as conducive to the benefit of the planters—

he was convinced that a single generation would raise the West Indian Colonies to a position of wealth which they had never yet approached. He should wish to have an end put for ever to that dismal representation which they found made on every discussion of this subject, after all our experience, that it was an advantage to Cuba that they were yet cursed (as he would say) with the system of slavery. He must urge on their attention the just observations of Sir G. Young as to the dangers of an artificial system, such as that under which the emigration from the East to the West Indies was carried on. Depend upon it, such a system could only be maintained upon the footing indicated by Sir George Young's suggestions, in the prospect of advancing towards a more natural system of immigration, and for the purpose of making the Colonies creep securely before they walked erect. But he urged that their attention was to be given to this subject of "indentured immigration," as a system that could not last; no social or industrial system was ever known to last upon such an unsound and unnatural basis. The amelioration of the position of the labouring population, and the institution of free immigration for the present system, was a matter which it would be in the interest of the planter to look to. He, indeed, must venture to think that the interests of the immigrants themselves in this matter of coolie immigration were far more momentous than those of the planters. It was life and death to them, and everything which life is worth. But, taking account only of their value to the planters as labourers, that value would be increased manifold if they were placed in a position of independence instead of that system to which Sir G. Young had alluded as an artificial system. Yet it was often said, and that meeting had been told, that their position was peculiarly favoured, so much so that English labourers would be fortunate if they could go to an English Colony under similar conditions—that is to say, bound to serve for a term of years masters whom they had never chosen or seen; to be placed under a system of law bristling with penalties and different from that of everybody about them; to be obliged to have a ticket-of-leave before they might go off their master's property, and to have as their great boon a hospital and special officers required to see that they were not abused, and at the end of their time a prospect that one in twenty might return to England with £25 in their pockets. Was that a statement to be made in London as a glory and a hope for our workmen? He believed that if such a prospect were put to the most hopeless starveling who slept under an archway, he would say, "I would rather lay me down here and die, or be sent to

prison, than be sent out to Australia under such a condition as that." Then they were told that those men, who had forgone all the associations of their lives—the dearest associations under which they were brought up, their habits and prejudices, which are no less dear because they are called "superstitions,"—because they were to be emancipated, forsooth, from these cherished "superstitions" under which they had been born and bred—the "oppression of caste" as one speaker pleasantly said—they were told that, if a man could earn 5s. a week, he was a happy man; and if he was one of seventeen at work out of eighty, with the other sixty-three in hospital, they were all so happy that their lot was better than that of their friends at home, or even their employers in the Colony! It was, indeed, unfortunate that these extravagant representations should be put forward, and that so many would not look at that other side of the shield from the position in which Sir George Young had looked at it. He asked them to look at it fairly and honestly in that light. If, indeed, he could trust himself on this grave subject to speak the feelings of his heart, he should speak a great deal more strongly than he had; but in the few minutes at his command it was impossible to treat it as it deserved. If he could only produce before them a small party of Indian and Chinese coolies, brought from the pay-table of a West Indian estate, that meeting would be much astonished at them and their stories. But nobody more firmly believed than he did that the immigration of Indians and Chinese to the West Indies might be a great benefit to them, to the planters, and to the negroes; he was convinced there was ample room for them to be useful and prosperous there. But he desired to impress upon those who heard him, who had a heart to feel, who were not bound up with the prejudices of the existing system, that it was a dangerous and an unhappy system; that a stable and progressive social system must rest upon a firm and a natural basis, which cannot be formed in the West Indies except by the advancement of the labouring classes, who have never yet been recognised as having independent rights and interests. That was an evil the remedy for which involved no sort of injury to the planters or planting interests, which were themselves of great moment and deserving every protection and consideration, but quite the contrary. He trusted the time would come when, instead of its being thought that those views were antagonistic to the interests of planters, it would be recognised by them as essential to their own special interests to raise the position of the labouring classes of the West Indies—who, in fact, are the people of the West Indies—to a

standard conducive to the welfare of Colonies which should be, and may be, sources of prosperity and honour to the Empire at large.

Mr. ABRAHAM HYAMS said that during the discussion he had caught the inspiration of the speakers, particularly as he had recently come from the largest of the West Indian Colonies. It seemed to him, from the turn the debate had taken, as though the West Indian climate had been allowed to enter the current of the debate. He was sure he would be excused when he stated he was a native of Jamaica, and on that ground he would, he knew, receive the generous sympathy of the meeting, if, in speaking on the question, he was, in his style and address, not as fully "at home" as the gentlemen around him, whose educational advantages were in advance of his own. Whatever he knew he had acquired solely from the private educational institutions of the Colony, and by a large amount of personal effort. For upwards of thirty years of his life he had striven to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the condition of things on the island. He felt at the moment as though he were again in Jamaica, and he hoped he should be pardoned for something that might seem a piece of personal vanity, if he suggested one or two reasons why, as belonging to the island, he undertook to speak on the present occasion. In the first place he would suggest that few persons knew the native peasantry of Jamaica better than he did. He had a tenantry on the island of nearly a thousand people, composed almost of the black population, with a fair sprinkling of coolies and Barbadians. In the next place he ventured to say that there was no one in Jamaica who had recently dealt more extensively in the selling of lands among the black population than himself. He would instance a case, where in one parish, that of Manchester, in the Mandeville district, within a stone's-throw of the chief town, he had cut up one property among the people of the value of nearly £3,000. Those things, he thought, would somewhat explain why labour was scarce on the island, and why coolie immigration was necessary to the future of the large sugar estates. It was not at all necessary that that want of labour should be put down to squatting on the part of the general peasantry of the island. He himself was now somewhat connected with the planting interests of the Colony, independently of which he had a large stake there on a somewhat large amount of property. He could also pleasurably refer to an acquaintance with some of the leading planters of the island. Most of the gentlemen who had that evening spoken had well spoken, especially the gallant Major who had led the discussion. Indeed, if Major Duncan had resided on the island as many years as he had been

there months, his experience in general could not have been more carefully acquired. It seemed to him (Mr. Hyams), as a native of Jamaica, that the great West Indian millennium was just about to begin. He had scarcely ever known, in a time of quiet, the West Indian Colonies, with Jamaica, so much brought into public notice as within the last eight or twelve months. His chief object, therefore, on this occasion was heartily to thank those who were being so instrumental in spreading information on Colonial matters; and for this reason he would take the present opportunity—as the Royal Colonial Institute were about closing their meetings for the year—on behalf of the planters of all classes, of thanking Mr. Frederick Young, the indefatigable and talented honorary secretary of the Institute, as also the distinguished President of the Institute, who was absent (and he would not forget on the present occasion to remember, with a good deal of feeling of tenderness, Mr. Young's late predecessor in office), for the noble efforts the Institute had made to bring to light the circumstances, characteristics, the geography, and every other fact and feature in relation to the Colonies, and making them so well known in England during the past twelve months. In this matter he spoke as a representative man of Jamaica, for he had largely been connected with a political association there, consisting of planters, of blacks and whites, and indeed of all classes. He had been astonished while in England to find, too, among men of decided ability, how little had been known of the West Indian Islands. He remembered calling on a gentleman, and of being introduced to his daughter, who said: "Let me introduce you to my friend, who has come from the East Indies;" and on being told, "the West Indies," he said, "Oh, it does not matter, it is only just opposite." He (Mr. Hyams), therefore, thanked all parties for devoting so much time and attention to questions affecting the West Indies. They were much indebted to Mr. Lubbock for the interesting paper, about which he thought there could be no division of sentiments, and he thanked him much for the efforts he had made for the good of the West Indies. Then, again, nothing could be more gratifying than to see lately that the greatest newspaper power in the country—he heard it sometimes called "the Thunderer" of England, i.e. the *Times* newspaper—had recently devoted a very interesting article to Jamaica affairs. He was thankful for that. Then he had heard of a series of letters which had appeared in the *Times* on the subject of Jamaica. Then also he would take occasion to thank Mr. Silver for the efforts he was putting forth in the publication of the Proceedings of the Institute in *The Colonies*, not only in the interest of Australia and Canada,

but of the other Colonies. He had also to refer to the labours of the "West India Committee," whose representative he saw present in the person of their talented secretary, Mr. Ohlson, and thanked them for their efforts. Indeed, it was impossible for such a combination of effort to be put forth without some good resulting to those whose interests were being so well protected. With reference to coolie immigration, he was surprised that anyone at the present day, with the facts as patent as daylight before them, should doubt that coolie immigration was not only a benefit to the island where the coolies went, but a great advantage to the coolies themselves. As this point had already been so well discussed he would only refer to a few instances out of many where immigration had materially benefited the coolie himself. In illustration of this he might mention one coolie who had amassed something like £8,000, lodged in one of the banks of Jamaica. Now, he would submit that if that man had remained in his own country, by what process would he ever have acquired that amount of money? And if it be true, as had been said, that a coolie's wages never exceeded something like five shillings a week, then the five shillings must have rapidly multiplied to have enabled this coolie during his residence in the island to have acquired so large an amount. Again, there was another coolie in the parish of Hanover who had purchased something like 800 acres of land, for which he paid £1,000, and this man subsequently again paid £200 for other lands. There were also scores of coolies who were not shopkeepers and proprietors on the island; and if it were necessary he (Mr. Hyams) could multiply cases which would prove that, instead of being exceptional, they were becoming somewhat the rule of the financial prosperity of coolies in Jamaica. He would suggest a very strong reason for coolie labour, and which made it so indispensable to the successful cultivation of large sugar estates, and that was that such labour was continuous all the year round. In saying this it was not necessary to say that the black population, as a rule, were self-indulgent and would not work. The fact was, that the black population were every year in numbers withdrawing from estates' labour and becoming their own little proprietors; so that at the very time of the year when their labour was indispensable to the sugar estates' work, they were themselves engaged in the cultivation of their own little homesteads. Nor was it correct to say that there was any antagonism between the black population and the coolies. So far from that being correct, it was notorious that wherever the coolies were located on estates they furnished large markets for the sale of the ground provisions cultivated by the black people. He had no doubt

that, if appealed to, the first speaker, who had been on the island and so well used his eyes and ears, would bear him out in the statement that it was hardly possible to go through the country parishes of the island of Jamaica without finding hundreds of the black people possessing their own horses, and mules, and asses. Scores of them kept their own carts for market day, and there were not a few in the present day who had their buggies or carriages, while hundreds of them had built very comfortable cottages, many of which were very decently furnished. And it was in proportion as these people improved their own condition and passed out into a sort of middle class on the island that the planter lost so much labour, and that the necessity for foreign labour became increasingly requisite. He would also take this opportunity of saying that every day a better feeling was growing up between the planters and the black people. He (Mr. Hyams) could not sit down without again thanking the Institute and others for all they were doing in the interests of the West Indian Islands, and he had no doubt their labours would be well compensated by the success of the colonists themselves. He again thanked the meeting for the indulgence shown him. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. L. OHLSON, Secretary, West Indian Committee, said he should not have presumed to make any remarks upon such an occasion as that, and before such a distinguished assembly, but for the encouraging words which had been so kindly uttered towards himself. One thing that struck him in listening to the discussion was that things were looking a little better for the West India Colonies. As a rule the English people cared a great deal for sugar, but cared very little for the Colonies whence the sugar was produced. Such a meeting as that, and the information which it had disseminated, and the facts which had been stated upon authority so unquestionable were likely to do a deal of good, and to encourage the West Indian Colonies, which had for many years been fighting a hard battle, but thought that they saw in the near future some reward of their exertions. They were all delighted to listen to the wise and statesmanlike speech of Sir George Young; every word that fell from him, after the experience he had had in British Guiana was most valuable; and his speech was none the less valuable because of the criticisms it contained of the coolie system in Demerara. It would seem, however, that he pushed his argument a little too far; and that in one case he rested rather upon the power of an epithet than that of an argument—especially when he called the coolie system artificial. He (Mr. Ohlson) had looked at it both from hostile and favourable points of view, and tried to get

at the bottom of what it all meant, but it seemed to him to be one of the most natural systems that could well be devised. There, on the one hand, was a starving man in the midst of a large population crushing out, as it were, the very means of life in one part of the world ; and there, in another part of the world, was a country requiring hands to till the soil, and to bring forth its latent wealth ; and it seemed to him the most natural thing in the world to bring the labourer to where his labour was wanted, and that it was a system to which the word "artificial" could not possibly be applied. All the men were taken from where they were not wanted to where they were wanted, for the purpose of producing that wealth which did the whole world good, and certainly increased particularly the happiness and prosperity of the British Empire. It seemed to him, then, that the only reason why Sir George Young thought the system an artificial one was because the labourer did not become a landed proprietor ; and that was pushing an argument really a little too far. The artisan in this country lived by his labour, and by that only, which was his sole capital and the means whereby he lived—the factor of his prosperity. He did not become a landed proprietor ; and if Sir George Young's argument was carried out to its proper and logical issue every artisan in this country, if he wanted to get rid of that epithet which anyone might apply to him, of being under an artificial system, ought to become a landed proprietor at once. There were the coolies in Demerara ; they did not become landed proprietors, not because the land was not there, but because their labour was wanted and was absorbed in the estates, owing to the demand for it being greater than the supply. Their labour was their own capital, which they brought with them, and the present was a necessary stage for the immigration system to go through. In the course of time, no doubt, when the amount of labour met the necessity of the Colony, there would be a certain excess of population which would cultivate land on their own account, and form the future backbone, as it were, of a peasantry of the country ; but a certain time must elapse before this result can be achieved. In the meantime the principle of the whole system was perfectly natural, and it seemed to him that the epithet artificial could not be attached to such a system. He was glad to listen to some of Mr. Beaumont's remarks when he spoke favourably of the West Indies. Praise from him was praise indeed, but it seemed that the principal result of his residence in Demerara was a development of his taste for caricature. They never had such an inversion of all that was good in the system as they had in the speech he delivered that night. He talked as if

there was a division of interest between the labourers and the planters. But there was no such division, because the interest was simply one; and when he said that no person under the arches of Waterloo Bridge would accept the terms which a coolie did in the West Indies, all he (Mr. Ohlson) could say was that he had a certain power of imagination by which he could put himself under the archway, and he would, knowing the position of the coolie, certainly accept his place for that of a poor ragged wretch of Waterloo Bridge. (Laughter, and "Hear, hear.") There he would have an agreement by which he would be kept from starvation for five years, and by which the Government would look after him, and by which all his rights would be protected. Mr. Beaumont said that that was an exceptional state of things; but in every point in which it was exceptional it was entirely in favour of the coolie, especially that he should have work, wages, house, and hospital accommodation, and proper medical attendance secured to him for five years; and it appeared to him that any poor starving wretch about the streets of London or Calcutta would accept such an offer from Mr. Beaumont if he went and made it to him. There was one other point mentioned by Sir George Young; that was as to the early failure of immigration. At first, no doubt, it was unsuccessful, but it was so because the Government would not adopt the provision which Mr. Beaumont had condemned of making the indenture a part of that system. This was, however, found to be absolutely necessary in the course of time, and was adopted. Those acquainted with the question from the beginning of the century knew what trouble there had been with the Governments of the day; they had had all sorts of Ministers to deal with. As a mere matter of history he might mention what great difficulty had been experienced by the West Indian body in getting any concession from the Government. They were put, first of all, upon an unequal competitive footing with slavery; then they were told they would have no labour. If they went to Africa they were met with the cry of "Reviving the Slave Trade," and if they went to India they would have neither agreement nor indenture; but subsequently the Government were convinced that it was necessary to have an indenture, and up to now the system had worked very well; and as Sir James Longden said, the indenture system was necessary for the protection of the planter and labourer. It was, in fact, a mutual agreement, out of which sprang a mutual benefit and prosperity. There was only one other point to notice in the criticism suggested by Sir George Young. He said that people were obliged to earn a certain minimum rate of wages in Demerara.

and he found that the labouring population of that Colony just earned that minimum rate of wages. He (Mr. Ohlson) did not see to what logical results that remark of Sir George Young's pointed. It seemed to him that there should be in a Colony, as there was in this country, a certain standard of labour, whether they measured the results by mere money payments in the shape of wages, or whether they regulated that labour in point of time or so many hours. The object of that system which had met with the disapproval of Sir George Young—and he had had many cheerful hours with the report which Sir George Young had mentioned that night—was a legitimate one, and the provision in the Demerara law was for the purpose of setting up a kind of standard of labour, so that the labour of the Colony might be gauged and estimated, and it might be seen how many days a man really worked, and what were the necessities of the Colony in point of labour; and another reason was to find out how much the labourer could earn, and to employ as much as possible his industrious powers, so that there should be no doubt of his earning sufficient to maintain himself. All those were benefits that would accrue to labourer and employer from setting up a kind of standard of labour in some form or another in every country in which men engaged in industrial occupations, whether in the field or buildings, or any other means or manner by which men earn their daily wages. He could only repeat the hope already expressed by Sir George Young that anything which militated against the full success of the coolie immigration might be got rid of in the course of time. What they would like to see in the West Indies would be the employment of people without any agreement or indenture, which involved the grandmotherly restrictions which the Government put upon the system at present; but they must wait for those things. The West India Colonies had waited many years before they had any gleam of prosperity, and there must be a further time of waiting before full results were achieved, but he thought he saw signs of their near approach. And reverting again to the labourers, there is a large village population in Trinidad growing up, and he thought there were steps being taken to establish that village system in Demerara, although Sir George Young had stated that there was not much room for the extension of the system on that particular plan in Demerara. He thought that such a meeting as that, and the information there imparted, and the kind sentiments expressed towards the West Indies, would do a very great deal of good. They had always been under the impression that the English public did not so much care about them, and there seemed to be a kind of misrepresentation of

the West Indian interests going on in some way in this country. That misrepresentation sprang, no doubt, out of a kindly feeling. It was, perhaps, better to be loved and kicked than never to be loved at all. (A laugh.) Still they were glad to find there was a greater appreciation of the real needs and interests of the West Indies growing in this country; and he could only express the hope that the mother-country would look upon the West Indian Colonies in future with much greater and more real interest than had been the case in the past, and would endeavour to develop as much as possible those elements of freedom and of progress in which she—that is, the mother-country—and the Colonies had a single, common, and undivided interest. (Cheers.)

Sir RAWSON RAWSON said he thought Sir George Young ought to be well content with his speech, and also the gentleman who had last addressed them. If the last speaker had been conversant with the management of immigrants he would have acknowledged first of all that it was a highly artificial system. One of his earliest services in the Colonies was in the Mauritius, where he took an active part in the question of immigration. When he arrived, the Government was exceedingly jealous of the English system of immigration, and he found a great deal to blame in the management of the immigrants, and a committee was appointed to consider whether any more immigrants should be allowed. In 1844 no less than 80,000 had been admitted into the Mauritius, and the Governor objected to any more. They agreed, however, to allow 8,000 more to be admitted. It was a horrible idea, and they could not allow it at all, and we fought the battle for many years, and at last the immigrants were allowed; and when he left the Mauritius in 1854 there were about 100,000 immigrants there. Now Mr. Beaumont had pictured with a certain amount of truth, as far as his (Sir Rawson Rawson's) acquaintance with the Mauritius up to 1854 allowed him to bear testimony, as to the condition of a certain portion of that immigrant population, wretchedly off, and wandering about—worse, he believed, than that in which they left their own country. But was it not exactly the same with our independent emigrants to Melbourne, to South Africa, and other countries, where idle, good-for-nothing people, who had failed to succeed in their own country, had sought in a strange land, with a few pounds with which they had left their own shores, to make their fortunes elsewhere; where, too, they were perfectly unacquainted with or ignorant of what they had to do, spending wantonly the small sum they possessed when they left their native shores, and sinking to a very low condition? How many gentlemen in England had been

in a worse position in our Colonies than any class were, equally badly paid, who had emigrated of their own accord! So it was with the coolie. A coolie who, through idleness—having served his time, or not having served his time—had been released from his indenture by the magistrate because he was good-for-nothing, sank lower and lower, and became exactly what Mr. Beaumont had described. That was a highly artificial system; the extremes were great. Many men thrived and amassed money, many acquired land, and a large number of our fellow subjects in India had been highly benefited both in the East and west—the mass had been benefited. But a very large number had died from disease or sunk into poverty, and much wretchedness had existed; and Sir George Young was entirely justified in calling it a highly artificial system. If the gentleman who spoke had had to do as he (Sir Rawson Rawson) had, to try and legislate, to pass ordinances, for the arrangement and conduct of immigration, he would have admitted freely that it was artificial. But why be frightened by the word “artificial”? There was nothing in it that should frighten. It had been seen in the Mauritius, Trinidad, British Guiana, Jamaica—all had benefited by it. The whole thing was that, as regarded coolie immigration—to remove all unnecessary difficulties between the planters and the labourer, to protect the labourer who did not speak the language, who had no protection but the Government, and to help the Colonies to increase their immigration as far as they were able, to support and to give the labourer occupation—it was artificial, and so must remain for a long period of time; but it might be made a blessing to those who came and to those who assisted them. That was his view of the immigration question. With regard to Barbados, he could certainly bear testimony to what had been stated in the paper with regard to the great advantages possessed by the Barbados labourers; and the prosperity of the labourers in Barbados was testified by nothing so much as their indisposition to leave the island; and perhaps he could make a short remark which would explain what people here did not understand when they heard that those poor people were working for tenpence or a shilling a day. It sounded very little in our ears, but it was not so amongst the labourers of the West Indies. First, he was not aware that in any of the islands near us, except where there was an artificial system of immigration, the wages were higher; but English people were not at all aware of the very small amount of money required to keep a man in the West Indies. He would give them an illustration. He had a servant in Government House, Barbados, who wished to be boarded

in the house, and on asking his butler what reduction should be made in his wages for receiving board he said a dollar or four shillings a month; and he remarked that that seemed very little, sixpence a-day. "Oh, sir," said the butler, "that is quite enough. I shall not spend more than twopence a day for my food, or five cents." Well, if a man could live for three or four pence a day, the wages of tenpence or a shilling were not so small, after all. That was the position of the people in Barbados; their wages were low, their means of living, with little patches of land which they cultivate, and with the very cheap provisions, with which they were able to maintain their position, was quite wonderful. There was an over-population: they suffered first from the number of old people, their relations, the number of young people, especially illegitimate children, and, thirdly, by what was a misfortune to a certain extent, the emigration to neighbouring Colonies. The neighbouring Colonies would be glad to get whole families, and to have them settled amongst them, and to create a new population in the island; but Barbadians did not like to leave; it was with difficulty that whole families would leave, and then the young men went away—the labourers went away—and left their wives and children in hand, and their parents behind. Some of them made money, others did not. And a great deal of misery was occasioned in Barbados by the absence of those labourers elsewhere. He believed the system might be improved; he knew that a great deal of good was done. Men went away, and either sent back or brought back money. He knew a great deal of good was done, and also a great deal of harm. One of the mischiefs of immigration from Barbados, and one of the objections of the Barbadian people at leaving Barbados was the giving up of the peculiarly dry climate of Barbados for the moist atmosphere of Tobago surrounding St. Vincent, all round which fevers were caught; many Barbadians in consequence died. Then their families were left, widows and orphans, in Barbados, and it could not be wondered at that that was a great deterrent to those who remained behind to emigrate to those Colonies. He was quite aware, and had always contended, that it would become necessary for Barbados to thin its population, but the population, through the healthiness of the island and through other circumstances, was increasing rapidly. He should be delighted to hear that arrangements were made in other islands to facilitate a passage between the black race. He believed the immigration would then be for the future benefit of Barbados as well as the other islands. But all that was said in the paper was perfectly true with regard to Barbados.

Major O'BRIEN, of Ontario, said that in the paper just read it was stated, on the authority of Mr. Goldwin Smith, that confederation had been a failure in Canada, and from that it was inferred that confederation ought not to be attempted in the West Indies. He now desired to say, in the first place, that the statement that confederation had been a failure in Canada was entirely untrue; and, in the second place, there was no man less qualified to speak on a matter of that nature than Mr. Goldwin Smith. (Cheers.) So far as that gentleman was concerned, his attempt to establish in Canada a party aiming at independence had been as complete a failure as was his attempt to establish an anti-Imperial party in those islands. Confederation was established in Canada mainly because it was essential to the unity of the Empire, and the result had been to raise the political standing of every man, woman, and child in the Dominion, and a man was now known as a Canadian, and not merely as a resident in one or other of a number of small dis-united dependencies. In regard to the West Indies, it was not presumption in a Canadian to speak for them; for nature had provided that no country under the sun ought to be in such close relations with the West Indies as Canada. There was no product either of the soil, of the forests, of the mines, or of the fisheries of Canada for which there was not a demand in the West Indian Islands, nor a thing grown in the West Indies but had a market in Canada. There was, therefore, room for complete reciprocity of trade, and one of the great difficulties that had been found in the way of establishing such a trade was found in the many Governments in the West Indies to be dealt with. If they adopted federation in the West Indies, that great difficulty would be overcome. Then, as regarded the financial position of the two countries, they were analogous. The sugar trade in the West Indies was crippled by the hostile legislation of France and other countries. In the same way the manufacturing interests of Canada were crippled by the highly protective tariff of the United States. They had, therefore, great political interests in common, and it was essential that they should unite to bring about a change in this respect, as well as for the purpose of establishing a reciprocal trade. On these grounds nothing could be of more importance than that there should be a Confederation of the West Indian Islands on somewhat similar principles as those in the British American Provinces. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. H. E. MONTGOMERIE, to what the last speaker had said, wished to add that, in spite of the opinion expressed by Mr. Goldwin Smith that the confederation of the Canadian provinces

was brought about by external influences, he ventured to assert there never had been an instance of any such movement having arisen more spontaneously among the people themselves. So strong was the feeling on all sides, that a coalition Ministry was formed from the two opposing political parties for the express purpose of effecting the confederation. A scheme of union was drawn up at a conference of delegates from all the provinces, brought over to England by a deputation, and submitted to the Secretary of the Colonies, Lord Carnarvon, by whom a bill, embodying the views of the provinces, was submitted to the Legislature here, passed virtually without alteration, and carried out by the Canadians themselves in the formation of the Dominion. If this was to be taken as an instance of "external influence," then he must confess his ignorance of what external influence really means. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Fredk. Young) : It now becomes my very agreeable duty to propose a vote of thanks in your name for the valuable paper read this evening. In the wide expanse of the British Empire there is no portion of it which is more interesting or of greater value to the British nation than the West Indian group of islands ; and I think, therefore, we are much indebted to Mr. Lubbock for having brought the subject before us this evening in such an interesting and exhaustive paper. I perceive he lays great stress on the two questions—which Major Duncan terms the two burning ones, viz. the labour question and the system of bounties by foreign countries—as constituting the two main difficulties with which the West Indian Islands have to contend. With regard to the system of bounties, I think there can be no question that it is not a system of fair competition. If other countries without such artificial means can compete successfully with us, by all means let them do so ; but it is not "a clear stage and no favour" when we find foreign Governments willing to subsidise their own manufactures for the purpose of bringing them into our markets against ourselves. With regard to the labour question, I think that point has been very elaborately brought out in this paper ; and I perceive that an apt illustration is given in the course of it in the contrast which is made between Demerara and Trinidad, on the one hand, and Jamaica on the other. The question of labour, no doubt, comprises a very large proportion of the argument of the whole paper. The way in which the coolies have been treated—whether they have been successfully treated or otherwise—has also formed the point of a considerable discussion among the speakers who have favoured us with their opinions. But I think the balance of opinion seems to be quite in favour—at all events, in the present day—of the extremely favour-

able condition that the coolie emigrants enjoy in the West India Islands. One speaker after another testifies to the comfortable position which the coolie now occupies ; and there can be no question, I think, that the allegations which were made against the coolie traffic and system—whatever objections could be fairly urged against them in the origin of the experiment—have now ceased, and that they are not at all amenable to the attacks which are still made upon them in some quarters. Sir George Young's speech was a most important and a most valuable contribution to our discussion this evening, and I was much struck with one particular observation he made, which was, that in treating this subject we ought to look very much to the future. In dealing with these large questions it is not alone sufficient for us to regard them in their aspect merely of to-day, but we must extend our view to the distant future, and look to their ultimate results. Mr. Beaumont, in earnest language, spoke of the importance of elevating the black population generally. I think there can be no doubt that his argument in favour of that point was a very cogent one. I confess, for myself, I have always thought that, if the black population can be really elevated, it must necessarily benefit the white population as well as themselves, and altogether improve the condition of the whole country. Mr. Abraham Hyams was pleased to make some complimentary remarks with regard to the Institute and those connected with it, for which I for one am heartily obliged to him. This is not the first time that the question of the West Indies has been brought before this Institute. Our esteemed colleague on the Council, Mr. Walker, read us a paper in 1878, which was published in our "Proceedings" of that year of a somewhat similar character to the one we have heard to-night, and which shows, therefore, that we have been for many years equally interesting ourselves with that portion of the British Empire, as with any other which comes under our observation. Sir Rawson Rawson spoke at some length on the subject of coolie emigration being "artificial" in its nature. It appears to me that everything almost is "artificial" which takes us from barbarism into civilisation. Every experiment may be to some extent termed in the first instance "artificial," although it may appear to become natural at last ; but in its inception it is nevertheless artificial. Therefore I agree with him that we ought not to be alarmed at a system being designated as "artificial," particularly when it is proved to be successful. I was glad indeed to hear the remarks of Major O'Brien, who repudiated the views quoted in the paper, from Goldwin Smith. That eminent and distinguished professor has by no means been very successful in his

predictions and prophecies on many subjects hitherto ; and I cannot help mentioning that within the last few weeks I had the pleasure of meeting Professor Smith, and I was rather astonished by an observation he made to me with respect to the future of Canada, for he said that, from economic causes, within ten years Canada would become part of the United States. I took the liberty of expressing my doubts to the learned professor of their being the least chance of his prediction being realised. I must confess I did not feel much alarmed at his ominous prophecy, for I knew that so many of his previous ones had not been altogether fulfilled as he anticipated. (Laughter.) I now beg to propose a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Lubbock for his paper. (Cheers.)

The motion was cordially adopted.

MR. NEVILLE LUBBOCK : I really think that my thanks are due to you for the kind attention you have given to my paper to-night. I think the discussion which followed is a most interesting one, which at this late hour of the night I shall not attempt to answer, although I cannot say I agree with everything that has fallen from all the speakers. I thank you for the kind way in which you have received my paper.

EIGHTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Eighth Ordinary General Meeting was held at the "Pall Mall," 14, Regent Street, on Tuesday, May 15th, 1877, His Grace the Duke of MANCHESTER, K.P., in the chair. Amongst those present were the following :—

Major-General McDougall (Deputy Quartermaster-General), Sir Anthony D. Home, V.C., K.C.B.; His Excellency Samuel Rowe (Governor West African Settlements), Capt. Hillyard Cameron (16th Regt.), Major C. Carpenter, R.A.; Major W. K. Elles, D.A.Q.M.G.; Mr. Arthur Blyth (Agent-General for South Australia), Mr. W. C. Sargeaunt, C.M.G. (Crown Agent for the Colonies), Mr. E. J. Reed, M.P. (late Controller of the Navy), Sir Robert R. Torrens, K.C.M.G., and Lady Torrens; Mr. Alexander McArthur, M.P.; Major Moncrieff, Major-General Collinson, R.E.; Col. Crossman, R.E., C.M.G. (late Special Commissioner to Griqualand West), Col. Colomb, Capt. F. W. S. Grant (98th Regt.); Dr. W. H. Russell, Col. Alcock, Capt. Bedford Pim, R.N., M.P.; Lieut.-Col. Denison (Canada); Major W. J. Grimston, Dr. Rae, Mr. P. A. Lane (late 2nd W. I. Regt.), Capt. J. H. Holms, Mr. G. Lardner (West Indies), Mr. Herbert Edwards (New Zealand), Mr. J. A. Quinton, Mr. Thomas Hamilton (Queensland), Sir George A. Arney (New Zealand), Mr. Donald Currie, Lieut. George F. Young (Bengal Staff Corps), Dr. A. Beattie, Mr. Gisborne Molineux (Canada), Mr. J. A. Youl, U.M.G. (Tasmania), Mr. H. E. Montgomerie and Miss Montgomerie, Mr. Philip Capel Hanbury, Mr. Edmund Trimmer (South Australia), Dr. Buchanan (New Zealand), Mr. E. B. Cargill, Mr. W. H. Matthews (West Indies), Mr. T. B. Curling, Mr. Alexander Rivington, Mr. Kerry Nicholls, Mr. F. A. Du Croz, Mr. James Blackwood (Victoria, Australia), Mr. R. L. Butterworth (Victoria, Australia), Mr. Thomas F. Quin (West Africa), Mr. James H. Croft, Mr. J. D. Thomson (Cape of Good Hope), Mr. Henry Collier, Mr. H. W. Freeland, Mr. Frederick Young (Hon. Secretary) and Miss Young, Mr. and Mrs. F. P. Labilliere, Mr. J. Scott Russell, F.R.S.; Lieut. P. R. Champion, R.M.L.I.; Mr. Leonard W. Thrupp (South Australia), Mr. W. Stevens, Mr. C. R. Pearce, Mrs. Colomb and the Misses Colomb (2), Miss Speead, Mr. R. T. Pottier, Mr. J. H. Thomas, Mr. F. F. Nixon, Mr. W. S. Wetherell, Mr. John F. Hudson (Cape of Good Hope), Mr. J. Sanjo (Japan), Mr. H. B. T. Strangways (late Premier, South Australia), Mrs. F. Dunlop (Ceylon), Mrs. Roche, Mr. Augustus Wolfen (Victoria, Australia), Mr. James Lees (New Zealand), Mr. James Brogden, Mr. W. Purdy (Bank of South Australia), Mr. J. Long, Mr. John Marshall, F.R.G.S., Mr. W. J. Weston, Mr. D. C. Andrew, Mr. John A'Deane (New Zealand), Mr. H. E. W. Grant, Mr. W. G. Grant, Mr. T. Saunders, Mr. Hyde Clark, D.C.L., Mr. and Mrs. Abraham Scott, Mr. Laycock, Mr. E. G. Thompson, Mr. Thomas Potts (Canada), Mr. Justin McCarthy, Mr. Robert C. Green (Transvaal), Mr. E. N. Walker (Assistant Colonial Secretary, Jamaica), Mr. J. B. Colthurst, Mr. Wm. Rankin, Mr. Thomas Glanville (Jamaica), Mr. Charles H. Miller

(Canada), Mr. J. Dennistoun Wood (late Attorney-General for Victoria), Mr. A. E. Davis, Mr. W. W. Evans, Mr. A. B. Abraham (New Zealand), &c. &c.

Mr. FRED. YOUNG, Hon. Sec., read the minutes of the Seventh Ordinary General Meeting, which were confirmed.

Captain J. C. R. COLOMB, R.M.A., then read the following paper on—

IMPERIAL AND COLONIAL RESPONSIBILITIES IN WAR.

In 1878 I had the honour to address this Institute on the subject of "Colonial Defence." As the remarks I am about to offer as a basis for discussion here and in the Colonies are but a continuation of that paper, I must briefly refer to the general views and principles it formulated. It is necessary to do so for the reason that they were honoured by great consideration at the hands of the Colonial Press. One of the chief objects of this Institute is to bring to a focus Colonial opinions, so that national shortsightedness at home may have the assistance of Imperial spectacles; and therefore as one of its Fellows, I shall best fulfil my duty by submitting to special notice such views and arguments as are adverse to those put forth in that paper, omitting for the present all reference to still more numerous expressions of cordial approval.

In a matter of such weighty importance as Imperial Defence, the main question at issue is this: How to secure with economy, yet truly and efficiently, Imperial safety? When any solution of that great problem is suggested—and I grieve to say no one besides myself has as ever yet considered the question as one great whole—more attention should be paid to arguments calmly and deliberately urged against its adoption, than to any outburst of sentiment, however general, which advocates its off-hand acceptance. War sweeps away all "castles in the air," all false sentiment, and leaves nothing standing but bare, naked facts. It crumbles to dust false ideas and false hopes, and consolidates the power of one Empire by scattering to the winds the fanciful delusions of another. Therefore in considering questions relating to defence, it is most important not to trust sentiment too far, but to weigh calmly and carefully practical arguments.

The paper to which I refer was a sketch of our Imperial position, the dangers to which it is exposed, and the strategical operations necessary for its safety. It may thus be briefly epitomised:—

(1) It brought to view the fallacy that Colonial Defence can be considered as an abstract question, or that national defence can be limited in its meaning to the defence of the United Kingdom.

(2) It pointed out that the principle of "home" or "local," or "domestic defence," if indiscriminately applied, as it has been by the wholesale creation of forces which cannot be moved from the soils on which they are raised, must produce Imperial weakness, not Imperial strength.

(3) That the United Kingdom is merely the "grand base" of the Empire, that for this reason it must be rendered secure, not only from capture but also from having its communications cut near home. Were the latter contingency to happen it would be helpless as regards itself, while it would cease to be of any value to the rest of the Empire with which it could not then communicate.

(4) That even supposing the United Kingdom secured both against invasion, and the interruption of its water roads near home, there yet remained to be effectually guarded against as pressing and as serious a contingency, viz. partial investment by an enemy operating against one or more of its communications, with the other portions of that Empire of which it is but the heart and citadel. For example: an opposing naval force operating with St. Helena as a base, at the crossings of the South Atlantic, would cut the whole of the Imperial communications round both Capes; and were the Suez Canal to be blocked at the same time, the whole Empire, except Canada and the West Indies, would be locked out from its grand base, and the United Kingdom would be partially invested.

(5) That we can only secure the Imperial water roads, first, by a firm, strong grasp at all times of the points which command them; second, by fleets adequate to the requirements of keeping free and open the lines between the points.

(6) That those fleets would be paralysed in their action if the points between which they are to operate are not held by military forces sufficient to render the protection of the sea-going fleets unnecessary; or, if there are not in addition at these points, stores of coal and means of repair adequate to the requirements of the fleets of which they are the base.

The reasons for these conclusions will be found stated shortly in that paper, and at greater length in other papers and works I have put forward during the last eleven years. They have never been disputed, and though they were most unpopular eleven years ago, because we could think of nothing at home but our own personal safety, they are now happily attracting attention. The "genie" of the British Empire is rising out of the "pot" of the United Kingdom in which it was too long confined. May this "spirit"

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never be "asked to go back to show where it came from," as we hope the time is approaching when Englishmen will cease to talk of their "country," and at all times and under all circumstances act as citizens of a Great United Empire.

On the conclusions referred to were rested the following positions:—

(1) That as the Imperial strategic points had been utterly neglected, the Colonies should combine to force on the attention of Parliament and Governments the necessity of providing means for their security and of increasing their naval resources.

(2) That a commission, properly constituted on an Imperial basis, should be appointed to inquire into this matter, and that such a commission might determine the just limits between Imperial and Colonial responsibilities in the question of defence, and that thus might be prepared the way for a federation of the forces of the Empire for purposes of defence.

(3) That an absolute and pressing necessity exists for the erection of a great Imperial dockyard at the other side of the world, which would relieve the pressure on home dockyards and fulfil duties which cannot in war perform, and in peace offer commercial advantages in the way of construction and repairs to ships of the mercantile marine.

(4) That some change appears necessary in the administration of our war forces, because as the protection of the Empire is partly naval and partly military, there is no one controlling power over both: the Admiralty may scatter fleets in one direction, while the War Office tie up military forces in another, but there is no power to combine the two, and without such combination each branch of our war power of defence would be helpless.

(5) That as the communications of the Empire are the common property of all its compound parts, each portion, according to the nature of its interests, has a direct interest in their defence and should contribute to that object.

Lastly. That forces created for the defence of "home" should be sent to "survey the Empire," in order to behold that which they defend.

Now an exceedingly able writer in the *Sydney Morning Herald* took great exception to some of these views. He says: "We do not want—we require no standing army here. If England does her duty, this Colony at least will do hers. Increased and strengthened harbours and coast defences, and a gradual filling up of the ranks will go far to protect all we hold dear. Besides in these d

rapid communication, additional troops can be landed on any shore: there is always sufficient warning of impending danger to enable the Imperial Government to send assistance to the places most likely to need it It is argued that fragmentary self-reliant forces are of no use, for to be of any value they must be fitted to move from one attacked point to another. Now this strikes at the root of what may be called our system of domestic defence. New South Wales, for instance, should not, cannot indeed, be asked to pour her defenders into Ceylon or the West Indies, nor would she expect to be similarly assisted. The only movable troops are those of the Imperial army. They ought to be shifted from one threatened or assailed place to another, as the occasion demands. The self-reliant isolated armies of the 'fragments' of the Empire will do yeoman's service on their own ground, and that is all that may be expected of them. That is the reason of their being, and that is the object of the movement which has met with such laudable success . . But we need not follow Captain Colomb further, unless it be to record another disagreement between us. He believes that any expense incurred in repairing 'the state of the Imperial roads,' ought to be shared by the Colonies. We think not. We impose no burdens on the mother-country for the maintenance of our safety ashore; and so long as we are integral portions of the Empire, we believe it is her duty to keep the roads in repair. Her honour and supremacy are dear to us all; but they concern herself first and principally. Our share of the obligations we willingly do, and to the statesmen of Great Britain we look for the rest. . . . Self-defence and self-reliance must be the watchwords, and each Colony will do its duty if it provides a force sufficient to protect its own territory."

I submit these passages to special notice, as they are directly opposed not only to the views stated at length in my former paper, but will not be found in accord with my further remarks to-night. They form a candid, fair, and straightforward expression of that Colonial opinion which is adverse to the adoption of any Imperial scheme of defence, as will be presently seen. Those few brief but weighty words, extracted from two very lengthy and very able articles, very favourable in other respects, are deserving of most serious attention. They cover the whole ground of possible objections to acknowledging that any Imperial responsibility rests on any fragment of the Empire outside its own boundary, save and except that portion called the United Kingdom. The truth is, that while every portion of the Empire now happily recognises fully and absolutely the necessity for defending it as one great whole, opinion

as to responsibility, if not much divided, is at all events left utterly undefined. Before, however, proceeding further I will give two passages from that remarkable paper, "*Fallacies of Federation*," which must be taken in conjunction with what I have already quoted. "It must be borne in mind," says Mr. Forster, "that so long as any Colonies are British Colonies the British Government is bound to protect them, and would protect them in case of war . . . and Great Britain is also bound to bear, and could not avoid bearing, the chief cost of such war." Taking this last passage in connection with the general statements of the address from which it is extracted, I conclude the chief cost means the whole cost, less only the expense of such local and purely defensive works and forces Colonies choose to create or maintain. Any Colony may or may not provide means of defence. The British Government cannot, in an Imperial sense, compel it to do so, nor exercise control over the constitution or distribution of such local forces or means of defence,—if created,—beyond Colonial limits. The fact of a Colony not adopting of its own free discretion means of defence adequate to its requirements, or to the best of its ability, simply increases the responsibility of the British Government. The responsibility, therefore, of the Government at home in the matter of defence becomes greater in exact proportion as a sense of responsibility on the part of the Colony diminishes. The less a Colony does, the more must the United Kingdom do. Now this is not a matter merely between an apathetic Colony and the mother-country, but it affects every portion of the Empire, because the extra war power necessary to put forward for the safety of that Colony is just so much deducted from the force available for the protection of other Imperial fragments.

There can be no doubt that "so long as Colonies are British Colonies, the British Government is bound to protect them" to the very best of its ability; and there can be no doubt also that "self-defence and self-reliance must be our watchwords." The point is, however, are these watchwords to be used in an Imperial sense, binding all Englishmen under an Imperial standard which they combine to defend, or is each Englishman to have a little flag of his own, and hoist it where he sees fit, and try to defend it or not, as he feels inclined?

The question to be first settled is this: What is protection? What is defence? It is really only chasing shadows to devise schemes for the protection of our Colonies; it is only a dreamer's fancy to arm for defence and to emblazon flags with "Self-reliance," if we are not clear what it is we have to protect, what it is we have

to defend. Are we going to protect the unity of the Empire, or merely to prepare to save what we can out of a possible wreck? Are the strong to defend themselves, and let the weak perish? Are Englishmen behind "increased and stronger harbours and coast defences" at Sydney to regard with complacency the capture of Fiji; to hear without dismay of the seizure of King George's Sound; or that the foe has established a base of operations at New Guinea, or in still more suitable positions on some of the neighbouring islands? I feel certain the able writer of the article would in the presence of such contingencies be inclined to think that the honour, wealth, and supremacy of magnificent Sydney was concerned "first and principally," and that so long as Sydney could spare a single man or had a single shilling available to help to prevent such a catastrophe, she would not have done her duty did she not spend that shilling and dispatch that man. I rather fancy that the writer now so strongly in favour of rooting all military power of defence to the particular soil on which it is raised, would then fling away his able pen and carry a sword across the sea for the safety and honour of that Sydney he so dearly loves.

I do not ask for "standing armies in the Colonies." I only submitted that the several parts of the Empire should come to a common understanding as to the defence of the Imperial strategic points, such, for example, as Fiji and King George's Sound, and in proportion to the extent to which their honour and wealth is concerned in the security and efficiency of these positions, so should they contribute in common with the mother-country to their maintenance and safety as Imperial strongholds.

If the Colonies think it is wholly and solely the duty of the people resident in the United Kingdom to provide for the safe keeping of these Imperial keys, they should insist that they do it; they should not allow measures vital to their own safety to be so completely neglected. There is no use concealing the fact that the British Government, labouring under the pressure of home constituencies possessing all the power, cannot be reasonably expected to move far in such a matter except supported by counter pressure from without. It is idle to forget that if cavalry and field artillery be deducted from the strength of the regular army—our only movable force—the number remaining would not provide the strategic points of the Empire with garrisons, much less furnish expeditionary forces, which the Colonies imagine we can at any moment "throw on any shore." The Imperial roads cannot be kept open unless such places are secured independently of the protection of the sea-going fleets, and therefore if the mother-country

and her Colonies do not come to some common and really Imperial understanding as to how these places are to be provided with sufficient garrisons, adequate defences, and naval resources, a great war will find our fleets helplessly watching their bases, while home and Colonial merchant ships are being chased over the ocean like hares by *Alabama* greyhounds. The injury to commerce, the paralysis of trade thus caused, will be the "chief cost" of such a war. It will fall on the mother-country and her Colonies, not regulated by our own theory of responsibilities in matters of defence or warlike preparation, but practically *pro rata* on each portion of the Empire, according to its commerce and trade, the strategical advantages its territory offers for seizure or requisition, and its relative geographical position to the quarter from which the opposing war power is launched.

Whatever, therefore, may be a true or false theory of responsibility in matters of our defence, war against us will not be waged on any theory whatever ; it will visibly press upon, and be most felt by the interests most exposed to attack, and leave us to settle our "*Alabama* claims" and our damages and accounts as best we can among ourselves. It is hard to say, therefore, beforehand, on what portion of the Empire the "chief cost" will in the end fall. If Fiji or King George's Sound were captured, Australasia would feel it most ; were Singapore or Hong Kong taken, each part of the Empire would suffer in proportion to its India and China trade ; and so on. If our squadrons are tied to these places because they are not defended nor have adequate garrisons in war, the water districts of which they are the centres would be left without efficient protection, and similar results follow.

"If," says the writer, "England does her duty, this Colony (New South Wales) at least will do hers. . . . There is always sufficient warning to enable the Imperial Government to send assistance to the places most likely to need it." Clearly, then, he considers it the duty of the people living in the United Kingdom to send military force to every place "likely to need it." If this be a correct view, it is as well the whole Empire should know England has not prepared to do so. While she now, as of yore, expects "every man to do his duty," Englishmen in the Colonies rightly expect she will do hers. But the very essence of the whole question lies not in the sentimental expression of a readiness either on the part of England or the Colonies to do their duty, but to distinctly comprehend practically what are the duties to be done. When Mr. Forster says, "the mother-country is bound to protect her Colonies," let it be asked in what way ? Is her responsibility

unlimited? And are the Colonies not bound to help? Does it extend not only to guarding all the trade lines of each particular Colony, no matter in what direction they lie, but also all English homes and interests scattered over territories in the aggregate sixty * times her size? Are Colonies neither to furnish men nor money according to their means to help the people of the United Kingdom to do so? In that case the signal of Trafalgar must be reversed so far as the Colonies are concerned. It must stand thus: England does not expect every man to do his duty, but every man expects England to do hers!

I am sure Mr. Forster differently construes the word "protect," and is very far indeed from thinking that the Colonies have no duties and no responsibilities in this matter of defence, or that Englishmen whose lot is cast in the Colonies instead of at home may absolve themselves from all obligations lying beyond their own shores, while, on the other hand, those who live in England cannot by any means do so. In the latter case, an Englishman can vary his responsibility by simply changing his residence from one part of the Empire to another.† At home he can be taxed to protect water communications, the safety of which is a common necessity to all; but in the Colonies he can escape the obligation. This is surely a very strong argument in favour of a general exodus from England to the Colonies on the eve of war. There is too much reason to fear that rather than grapple with a great difficulty which deeply concerns us all, we Englishmen at home and abroad try to hide it from our sight. We are but too apt to believe there is a wide difference between Imperial and Colonial responsibility in war; we entirely forget that no home or Colonial Legislature, no power and no man, has ever yet even attempted to draw that line which is supposed to divide distinctly the one from the other. I

* In former papers the area of the United Kingdom to that of the Empire was stated to be as one to thirty: this was an error.

† The political aspects of the question must be left to others to discuss. It would be out of place to consider difficulties presented by internal Imperial policy in a paper which deals with the external pressure of war. If that policy weakens our power of resistance we must take the consequences; we cannot make the war operations of our enemy subservient to our particular ideas of Government. The reader who wishes to follow up the subject in its political aspects will find ample matter for close study and grave thought in the Proceedings of the Institute and in "Imperial Federation of Great Britain and her Colonies," by F. Young. It is also but right to draw special attention here to the passage in Mr. Forster's paper previously referred to: "The British Government and Parliament have no right to inflict this revolution [Federation] upon any Colony or group of Colonies unless with the *full consent* of the colonists concerned, or unless it can be shown that such a course is absolutely necessary for Imperial interests, for the interests of the Empire generally, in short, for the interests of us all." [The italics are mine.—J. C. R. C.]

Responsibilities in War.

would submit that there is no such line; that there can be no line. The problem of Imperial security cannot be solved by distinguishing that which is common to all; it is a burden resting proportionably on every fragment of the Empire, and distinctions are not those of responsibility, but simply of practical ability. The Colonies must bear the burden according to their weakness, the mother-country according to their strength. The problem is one, not of division but of adjustment. The misfortune is, that Imperial policy has not been directed, not towards adjusting the burden, but has been thrown it down, leaving the United Kingdom and the Colonies cut off bits of it here and there according to selfish, misdirected instincts of self-preservation, and the result is that much of the burden remains repudiated by both. No one can say to whom the remainder belongs, whether to the mother-country or to the Colonies. We will not pick it up, because we have taken a "home defence" out of it we require; the Colonies will not pick it up, because they have cut off as much "domestic defence" as they think they want. To understand what that remainder is, it is necessary to examine closely our existing arrangements for the defence of our Empire.

"Each Colony," says the article, "will do its duty if it procures a force sufficient to protect its own territory . . . our share of the responsibility we willingly do, and to the statesmen of Great Britain we leave the rest." This quotation furnishes a very clear but most distinct idea of the prevailing notion existing in the minds of the allocation of responsibilities in war. Let us examine its practical value, and take New South Wales as an example. It has a population of some 600,000 souls, scattered over an area of some 828,000 square miles, and an enormous assailable coast line, offering numerous safe places for landing troops. No very large proportion of rural population so scattered can be made really effective for military service. In that splendid essay * by Mr. Reid it is stated that 27 per cent. of the population of the Colony is to be found in the metropolitan district of Sydney. These two facts taken together show that on the metropolitan district rests the main responsibility of protecting the Colony. The forces for the protection of its territory consist in 1875 of a naval brigade mustering 829, and military forces 4,000 all told, about one-third of which is made up by cadet corps furnished by colleges and public schools; 8,000 therefore represents the available military force. Our ablest Eng-

* An Essay on New South Wales. By G. H. Reid.

officers are already considering on the spot works of defence. Doubtless they will point out a pregnant expression used by the greatest engineer England ever produced: * "My fear would be of establishing works at very considerable expense, and afterwards being forced to abandon them for want of troops." If New South Wales is to be left when attacked entirely to its own military resources, any extensive works might have to be abandoned. The fortifications of Paris did not save France, nor can forts at Sydney save New South Wales in the absence of sufficient garrisons. Without such forts at Sydney and Newcastle the action of a movable army and a movable fleet would be completely crippled; but the forts without this army and this fleet, and without sufficient military force to defend them, would be monuments of extravagant shortsightedness. A Power in possession of Sydney or Newcastle, and also King George's Sound, could hold in an iron grasp the whole continent of Australia. In the safe custody of those positions is the whole continent "first and principally concerned." Each Colony in that continent has an equal and direct interest in the safety of such places. If, therefore, Colonies are not responsible beyond their own boundaries, if they are under no obligation to share the military expenditure necessary to secure places because they are beyond their political limits, and if these forces cannot be moved out of the Colony in which they are raised, it all comes to this—the population of Sydney must be responsible for the safety of one-half the continent, and whatever Englishmen happen to reside in the vicinity of King George's Sound must be held responsible for the other. But their responsibility does not end here, for if these points are lost the trade and commerce for a huge area around them is lost also. "Trade follows the flag," and the flag that waves triumphant over Sydney and King George's Sound will determine the nationality of the trade on the great districts of ocean of which they are the "strategic points." This is not a thing merely affecting the interests of those Englishmen who happen to reside at those particular places. It "first and chiefly" concerns Australasia, and is of vital importance to the whole British Empire. Thus does this principle of "home or local defence" indiscriminately applied place an Imperial burden on a few individuals, not because they are most capable of bearing it, not because they are alone interested, but simply because they have the misfortune to live at places of Imperial strategic importance. Such points are most liable to attack because they offer enormous

* The late Field-Marshal Sir John Burgoyne, R.E.

advantages as naval and military positions. When attack is resolved upon it will be delivered with such imperial or national impetus as may be deemed sufficient to offer reasonable prospects of success. The means of attack will be furnished by the available resources of a great nation; the nature and amount of force employed for the purpose will be determined by the necessities of the particular operation—by nothing else. These necessities will be estimated by our means and method of resistance. Concentrated energy of Imperial or national power may be brought to bear on the point selected for attack. Now, suppose either Vancouver's, King George's Sound, Fiji, Newcastle, Sydney, or any other point, be so selected. If our power of military resistance at such places be regulated, not with reference to the Imperial importance of the position, nor to the nature and extent of defensive work to be done, nor yet by the possible force of attack, but simply by a rule-of-thumb system of arming and drilling whatever Englishmen happen to live there, the result of contact is not a matter for speculation or for hope—it is a miserable certainty. The simple truth is, that power of attack means power of concentration; and if in defence power of concentration be absent, weakness is opposed to strength, and a very natural result follows, "the survival of the strongest."

Again: there can be no doubt whatever that if a Colony has no commerce, no trade, and no interests beyond its own boundaries, it will have done its duty if it provides forces sufficient to protect its own territory. But the glory of New South Wales is her external trade. "According to population, her external trade average," Mr. Reid tells us, "is more than double that of the United Kingdom." Those who maintain that there is a distinction between Imperial and Colonial responsibility in war, and that the responsibility of a Colony ends on its shores, must answer this question: Why should the people of the United Kingdom pay and find the force necessary, and be responsible for the protection of the "external trade" of New South Wales, when the proportion of individual interest is as one to two? Again: but one-third of the total exports and imports of New South Wales comes to and goes from the United Kingdom. Why should the Englishmen at home be responsible for the protection of the other two-thirds which neither comes to nor goes from them, while those "first and chiefly concerned" look on from behind the "stronger harbour defences" of Sydney with all their resources and war-power carefully locked up?

These are questions which cannot be shirked by believers in "home defence indiscriminately applied," nor passed over by those who differ from my humble opinion that there is no such

thing as a distinction between Imperial and Colonial responsibility and that in war all must share, according to their several ability, the Imperial burden of defence. But, putting aside all this, surely it is a fallacy to assume that any Colony can "protect its own territory." Is each fragment—nay, is any fragment of our Empire, single-handed and alone, a match for any power which can possibly attack it? Could each particular Colony in Australia defy the power of the United States? Is it at all certain that New South Wales, the greatest of them, is a match for Russian power on the Pacific? Mare Island, the United States' naval arsenal, is but 6,460 miles, and Vladivostock, the Russian base, but 5,000 miles, from Sydney. The Russians moved without steam power military forces, stores, and guns backwards and forwards in 1854, over a sea-line nearly 900 miles long, in the North Pacific, in complete defiance of the combined naval forces of France and England. It is not wise to rely entirely on the power of fleets to prevent the despatch of expeditionary forces from either Vladivostock or Mare Island. There is no physical impossibility to prevent either Power working from those bases to transport a complete corps of 5,000, without any great effort, to the shores of Australia. In war the only matter to be considered by them is the reasonable prospect of success. This prospect of success can only be estimated by our preparations for defence. In inverse proportion to our preparations for resistance will be the arguments in favour of attack. The less we have the power of concentration, the more possible is success to those against us. King George's Sound and Sydney command the Australian Continent; but under existing arrangements either power, in contemplating operations which would, if successful, carry the whole Continent, has not to consider the force of resistance furnished by the whole Continent, but simply to calculate the military strength of Western Australia as regards King George's Sound, and of New South Wales as regards Sydney or Newcastle. Is it to be supposed that either of the two Colonies named could protect their own particular territories from the assault of 5,000 disciplined, probably picked, men, ably commanded, furnished with accurate maps, possessing full and detailed information, and backed by the resources of a great nation? It would not be the inhabitants of Mare Island, it would not be the residents of Vladivostock appearing at Sydney, Melbourne, Newcastle, Perth, Adelaide, Hobart Town, or King George's Sound, to measure swords with the populations of each particular place; it would be the concentrated pressure of a great nation scientifically

brought to bear on the lungs of Australia, in order to leave her prostrate or to mar her life. The advantage to be gained by such an operation is an Imperial or national advantage, while under our "home defence" arrangements the military resistance to be overcome would be but fragmentary, or, in other words, Colonial. The principle of local defence, which prevents the concentration and combination of the whole war power of Australia, is one of the strongest possible inducements for attacking favourable positions there, in order to reduce each Colony in succession. Are we to assume that because Australian Colonies, each separately, are physically unable to furnish local forces sufficient to protect their own particular territories, they are each to be considered as having failed in their duty? If we are alone responsible for their safety, have we no right to insist upon a combination or federation of the war power of the great Continent? Are they at liberty to increase our responsibility, and our difficulty in defending them by objecting to combine their forces? Is the burden of Imperial responsibility to be shuffled off by the mother-country and the Colonies by a hap-hazard apportioning of our respective duties, without regard to our respective resources, and without reference to any consideration, but a pitiable desire to be rid of it? These are all questions which must be answered by those who see distinctions between Imperial and Colonial responsibilities, and who therefore argue against the federation of war forces for purposes of defence.

Again, all Colonies are not practically taking the same view of preparations for defence. Some are doing much towards providing military means to resist attack, others are doing little or nothing. In a general war, are the people of the United Kingdom to "help those who helped themselves," or are their efforts to be chiefly directed to protecting those who by their own neglect have rendered themselves more tempting objects of attack? Without some binding federal arrangement as to the distribution, organisation, and maintenance of war power, the Colony that buried its talent in peace may in war reap the solid advantages of assistance from us at the expense of others who meanwhile have made ten. But, more than this, are the residents in the United Kingdom to be left to give or to withhold assistance at will, and be free from any binding Federal obligations? Or are they to be expected to have real Imperial strength without the power to draw from the whole Empire, in proportion to the resources of its several parts, real Imperial power? If there be distinctions of responsibility in war, these questions must be answered. They must not be left to

be settled when war comes, to chance and "English spirit." Sentiment without system means in these days defeat and disaster. To take a practical illustration. Canada, with a population of some three and a half millions, furnishes an example to the English race. Her commercial progress in peace does not blind her to the necessity of being prepared for war. She takes a calm view of her position, and arranges to meet possible events. She taxes her financial resources, and calls on all her sons to do their duty, and willingly do they respond. Possibly, some day or other, the eyes of the world may be fixed on North America, watching a life-and-death struggle for the honour of the English name. In such a case are other fragments of the Empire to despatch correspondents to give interesting accounts of the proceedings and—nothing else? The naval power of the United States, drawn from 10,000 miles of Atlantic coast, would, if we do not prevent it, be concentrated on the St. Lawrence. Considering that an Englishman in Canada bears a far heavier military burden than an Englishman in the United Kingdom, surely, in common justice, we would be bound to sacrifice our whole naval power rather than permit her being invested by blockade. This involves our sending, besides a naval force superior to hers, a strong war garrison to Halifax, and a movable and purely military force for strategical coast distribution, and for counter attack. But let us turn to the South; are we there to leave Bermuda without force, and abandon to their fate the English West Indies? Our only movable military force, which is also the reserve for India, is but 100,000. This force would be at once absorbed by requirements in the West Atlantic. We may be in no danger of invasion at home, and sorely pressed for troops abroad, but meantime we shall have a military force of 800,000 men in the United Kingdom, which the principle of "home defence" has made it impossible for us to move. It is illegal to send them where they are required; therefore they must remain where they are not wanted, and look on at Englishmen being slaughtered, with the calm consciousness that, thousands of miles away from the fight, they are striking examples of the principle of self-reliance, and fulfilling Imperial responsibilities in war.

But supposing this estimate of probable requirements to be exaggerated, and that some force, naval and military, could be spared for service in other parts of the globe, is it quite certain that, in the absence of binding Federal obligations, the people of the United Kingdom who really have control would readily part with force? The Colonial Office would be pulling one way,

the Admiralty in another, and the War Office in a third, while public attention at home would be fixed upon the fact that its trade and commerce is brought to a focus in and about the Channel. The principle of "self-defence and self-reliance" is as applicable to naval power as to military force, and, if we are true to our principle, Colonies need not be surprised at its results. Our greatest trade centres are near home, and where our greatest danger appears to be, there, in obedience to the dictates of this principle, have we the right to concentrate more power than may be really wanted if we see fit. Public opinion at home, with the Government in its hands, free and unfettered by any binding Federal obligation, might in a panic possibly insist upon keeping the residuum of our movable forces at home. There would be some justice in the assertion that as the United Kingdom alone pays and finds the only movable forces, other parts of the Empire have no real ground of complaint if these forces are distributed without regard to their special requirements. Many arguments might at such a time be produced in favour of retaining forces at home. It would then be remembered how in 1778 Paul Jones in the *Ranger* defied our fleets, harassed our home trade, landed at Whitehaven, seized the forts, spiked the guns, set fire to the shipping, and even carried off Lord Selkirk's plate from his seat on St. Mary's Isle. Economists would point out that in the war between 1775 and 1788 eighty-two men-of-war were taken from us, besides 118 of our war vessels being destroyed or lost, and that this was the expensive result of England's fighting all over the world. In the popular excitement produced by a threatened commerce, in the chaos of our war administrative systems, and in the absence of binding Federal obligations as regards defence, it is not impossible the necessity of upholding the integrity of the empire at any cost and at any risk might disappear before constitutional clamour for the adoption of a policy of "self-reliant isolation." Point might be given to such views by reference to the fact that long ago the Colonies had been told to arm themselves and to be self-reliant, and that, as they were satisfied with it in peace, they must take the consequences of its results now that war had come. They might be told, "we could not change horses when crossing the stream." Such pictures may be considered too highly coloured, but let it not be forgotten that without any such sharp incentive as actual danger for centralising and tying up our only movable forces, that is the practical policy we are steadily and noiselessly pursuing now. We have a national (?) mobilisation scheme which has taken years to elaborate, and in that scheme there is not even an indirect allusion to any place lying beyond the

chalk cliffs of Dover. More exclusive attention year by year is being directed to the construction of such types of vessel as are useless for service on distant seas ; while millions have been and are being spent on extending home dockyards, which are but little use for the efficient maintenance of fleets at the other side of the world.

Let us now glance at the possible condition of the Pacific Ocean. Even granting we blocked the Atlantic ports of the United States, the safety of Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, and Hong Kong will then be in proportion to the force and vigour of Canada's resistance or power of counter attack. If it be sufficient to absorb the purely military power of the States, any concentrated effort on any of the points named would be hardly possible ; but if not, several thousand men might be poured into, say Fiji, before a single detachment of troops from England or India could reach it. For Pacific territories to assume "there is always sufficient warning of impending danger to enable the Imperial Government to send assistance to the places likely to need it" is to forget geography. Vladivostock is 8,000 miles, and Mare Island some 7,000 miles, nearer Sydney than Plymouth. The great Pacific railway across the States effectually settles the question of time : it has shortened by months the possible concentration of American military force on any point in the Pacific. On the other hand, within the last twenty-three years, complete water communication for 2,200 miles from the interior to the Pacific has been acquired by Russia, and within the last four years her naval base on her Pacific coast has come down some 800 miles nearer Hong Kong and Australia. Before the Crimean war her military forces were barred out from the sea by some 200,000 square miles of intervening territory then belonging to China. That war rendered it necessary for her to burst the barriers. While we pressed her in on the Baltic and Black Sea, she bulged out on the Pacific. Her military forces are now spread over seaboard and territories formerly Chinese, and their headquarters is now 8,000 miles nearer Australia than in the year 1854. She has one advanced military post within fifteen days' steam of Vancouver, and another within eight days' steam of Hong Kong. The Russian naval force in the Pacific is practically independent of European arsenals, and that of America entirely independent of Atlantic dockyards, while our Pacific fleets have to rely for support on Portsmouth and Plymouth, and can only receive stores and reinforcements round the Cape or through the Suez Canal, and our military force is caged at the other side of the world.

In view of such developments in the North Pacific, Australia is

vitaly concerned in the honour and supremacy of British naval power in that region. It is necessary to her security that it should be well guarded. Our fleets must keep that sea; they cannot do so without coal. Nature has provided it, and British instinct of a former age, ignorant of the value or even of the existence of this all-powerful element, secured to us the place of its abode—British Columbia. Our power of keeping the sea in the North Pacific rests entirely and exclusively on our ability to secure British Columbia against all attack, and in guarding this North Pacific gem, set as it is with black diamonds, we shall be establishing a post naturally capable of Imperial strength, about as near Australia as Mare Island. It would be an outwork against that steady advance of Russia which sooner or later will shift the real Eastern question from the Mediterranean to the Pacific. It would also “hold a pistol to the head” of San Francisco. Being 1,000 miles nearer Sydney than Panama, Australia could regard the cutting of the Isthmus of Panama without any very great apprehension of its strategical consequences. I may remark that the cutting of that canal will considerably modify the view of the able writer already quoted, and a time may come when a certain island in the West Indies may be in reality an Australian Gibraltar. But how has this huge empire, with all its wealth and intelligence, acted with regard to British Columbia? It has left it shut out from succour, it has left it to sink or swim, because to connect it by railway with the Atlantic would cost some £10,000,000, and might not pay for some time. Canada must be self-reliant, and make it if she want sit, and leave it alone if she does not want it.

Now, the United Kingdom has within the last five years thought it worth while to pay £7,000,000 on account of water communications; £4,000,000 has gone into the Suez Canal, through which but one twenty-eighth of our total commerce passes; and £8,000,000 has gone, no one knows where, as a fee for Captain Semmes' lessons in sea strategy, by which we have not profited. But for a work of immense value in peace and in war, vital to our Imperial life in half the world, we cannot afford to pay £10,000,000. Thus the Empire is ready to cast down its North Pacific pearl to be trodden down by “swineherds,” whose name is—shoddy. We shall only have ourselves to blame if it is picked up and placed in the Imperial crown of Russia, or added as one more star in the flag of the United States. As we have seen, a day may come when Australia will watch with anxiety the operations of the Canadian army, so her fate may hang on a naval action fought at or near Vancouver's Island. The hauling down of the Union Jack in British Columbia

would be the ominous warning to all our Pacific territories that the hour had come when the ferocious national war strength of our enemy could "strike at the roots" of our innocent little systems of "domestic defence." Not only is Australia deeply concerned in the Canadian Pacific Railway, but it is a matter of vast importance to us at home. As I have for years persistently pointed out on every possible occasion,* these Islands must not only be guarded against invasion, they must be also secured against investment. As our population increases, so can the successful chances of invasion be made to diminish, but so also do the dangers resulting from investment become more possible and more serious. Increase of population in the United Kingdom means more mouths to feed, more numerous claimants for national out-door relief. We are a great people, but we must have food. We at present buy in the cheapest open market, but it never seems to have struck us that there can be such a thing as an Imperial co-operative store, and that the site of the butcher's and baker's department lies between the Red River and the Rocky Mountains, and that all we want is a road to it. We forget, also, that in making this road we should also be making a short cut to the infinite supply departments of Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand. But we have up to this been so busy preparing for invasion that we have not had time to think of these things. In the event of war with America the mouth of the Mississippi will be closed, the American "Golden Gate" of the Pacific will be shut, and the other lines of our food supply will be objective points of attack by swarms of cruisers. No hostile squadrons may hover close round our shores, yet we might be in imminent danger of investment, and might possibly feel the stress of hunger. We keep Bermuda and Halifax as Imperial fortresses to provide for the contingencies of war with the States, and yet take no thought how, in that event, we are to feed our people at home. If such a war takes place before the British Pacific Railway is made, we may bitterly regret we spurned Nature's gift profusely spread at the foot of the

* It may be perhaps excusable to repeat the concluding passage of lectures on "The Distribution of our War Forces," delivered at a time when the "ghost" of invasion frightened the word "Empire" out of England: "As regards the United Kingdom—the citadel of the Empire—let it never be forgotten that we have two dangers to guard against—direct assault and investment, partial or complete. Though these islands may bristle with bayonets, though, at the very name of invasion, millions of riflemen may be ready to line the hedgerows, let us not shut our eyes to the fact that our supplies might be cut off, that we could be, in short, starved out. Therefore must our war forces be distributed in such a manner as will best secure the Imperial base of operations, and ensure safety and freedom of our Imperial communications."—See *Journal Royal United Service Institution*, 1869.

Rocky Mountains. With empty stomachs we shall have no "spirit left in us" to retaliate for the loss of British Columbia, and Australia may then call in vain for help. With that railway and consequent cultivation and development of this "fertile region," the forces necessary to keep open Canada's communications would at the same time guard our food supply, and also protect the Atlantic side of the short cut to Australia. By thus making it possible for one force to perform a triple duty, we should free two-thirds of our available naval strength, and thus all other parts of the Empire not so directly concerned in this line of defence would proportionably benefit. Surely, then, as a defensive work this railway is an Imperial question, and not simply a Colonial concern. This is a part of that heavy remainder of the Imperial burden of defence we pass by. Telegraphic communication is another. While Russia has connected her naval bases in the Pacific with a continuous wire from St. Petersburg some 6,000 miles long, we cannot afford to lay 2,000 miles of wire to connect our great coaling port of the North Pacific with London. Russia can put her Pacific armies and fleets in motion three minutes after the order is given from St. Petersburg. We can only send messages through United States' officials, who are not responsible to us if they never reach their destination. This is our application of the principle of "self-reliance!" It is but the logical result of the system of "fragmentary self-defence." British Columbia can have neither armies nor fleets to move, and therefore telegraphic communication would be perhaps superfluous. We have some ships scattered over the whole ocean. There are no works of defence raised by Imperial hands at British Columbia, no forts for the protection of our coal, nothing but *prestige*, 69 militia,* and a few constabulary, guards it from attack, while a powerful Russian fleet is already concentrated in this quarter of the Pacific waiting events, and its officers openly talk of taking Vancouver's Island. If that point is left to be protected by our fleet, our naval force must be concentrated there. The Russian squadron has then a clear road to Australia. Supposing we try to blockade that squadron now at San Francisco, we may get into difficulties as to neutrality bounds with the States; it may, besides, slip through our fingers, as it did in 1855 in Castries Bay. In the latter case, our fleet may go in hot haste to Vancouver's, to find the coals burned and the mining works destroyed, and to learn the enemy with full bunkers has left for Australia, whither our fleet cannot follow because it cannot get

* See Official Report of No. 11 Military District of Canada, 1876.

coal. Thus it is that the principle of "self-defence indiscriminately applied" to British Columbia vitally concerns Australia, and leaves it open to attack.

For some reason or other, it is assumed that in the matter of the defence of the Empire the protection of the sea and the defence of the land are two separate and distinct questions: that Colonial responsibility is bounded by sea, and what is called Imperial responsibility is bounded by land; that Colonies have none beyond their shores, and that, with some few exceptions, Imperial duties of defence are strictly and entirely confined to the sea. It is on this assumption we have based our preparations for defence; it is this theory which has produced huge military forces "fixed as the monument on Fish-street-hill," and which cannot move across the sea or pass from one Colony to another even though nothing separated them but a political boundary. We have at home 400,000 troops. Three-fourths cannot be moved across the sea, and nearly one-half (the volunteers) cannot even be moved to Ireland. "The self-reliant armies of the fragments of the Empire will do yeomen's service on their own ground, and that is all that may be expected of them." It is, therefore, very evident that both the United Kingdom and the Colonies at present seem to believe there is neither reciprocity nor commonality of responsibility so far as land defence is concerned. The result is that when we are threatened with invasion at home we can look for no military help from abroad, and when the Colonies are threatened abroad they can get no military aid from home. We may be in no danger of invasion, and with a military force, at the very least, of 800,000 at home we are to let British Columbia, or the West Indies, or all our Colonies go, rather than give military help. The Cape may let St. Helena, the Falkland Islands, and the Mauritius go, rather than move a man. Queensland must not mind Fiji being captured, nor New Zealand Tasmania being taken; nor must New South Wales mind Victoria being overrun, nor Victoria stir a military finger though the enemy be encamped at Adelaide; and South Australia must look on while a hostile force occupies King George's Sound. We impose no burden (say the Colonies) on the mother-country for the maintenance of our safety ashore, therefore they must defend themselves. We impose no burden on them, therefore we must defend ourselves; and so the system of territorial defence may thus be shortly summed up—every place for itself and the Empire for none!

But weak Colonies, having neither population nor resources sufficient to make even a faint show of military preparation, sometimes get a little doubtful as to the efficacy of this newfangled doctrine

of military disintegration. Mr. Forster comforts them with the assurance that the British Government at home "is bound to protect them in war." But faith in the logic of these words is somewhat disturbed by the logic of these facts—that the British Government at home ties up its military forces and omits mentioning such places altogether in its great mobilisation scheme. This creates alarm, and then we quiet them by pointing to our fleet. We give all our Colonies to understand that the fleet will, without any army, make up for every deficiency in the matter of land defence here, there, and everywhere, all over the world; and they believe it. But they must remember we ourselves do not believe it. We have created a military immovable force 800,000 strong because our Channel fleet cannot be relied on to protect an assailable coast line from the Humber to Penzance, only 750 miles in length. How, then, are ships scattered over a world of water to be relied on single-handed to protect territories with thousands of miles of undefended shores? Further, our fleets cannot keep the sea without the support of an army distributed strategically over the face of the globe to secure their bases. Our existing arrangements lock up our military forces, and provide no garrisons for the Imperial strategic points. Our fleets cannot move far away, therefore, from those places when expeditionary forces are on the sea. They cannot leave their coals to be taken or burned, nor risk the capture of their stores and means of repair. The truth is, the principle which ties up our military forces in immovable detachments also will bind with strong chains of necessity our fleets to their own depôts. In adopting this principle of fragmentary defence, which deprives us of the power of concentrating naval power or military force, we are forgetting our past history, and doing our best to deprive all British territory and all British sea lines of inter-communication of efficient naval protection in war. Our military weakness is not so much a want of force as a self-imposed inability to apply it where it is wanted. This system was not devised by the British Government, though it sprung from its neglect. Englishmen at home armed themselves because the Governments had not provided for the defence of the United Kingdom; Englishmen abroad followed their example because the same Governments left them "naked to their enemies." Those abroad "will do yeomen's service on their own ground;" those at home will only resist invasion. Between them lie our Imperial water roads, which our fleets cannot protect unless the "strategic points" which command them are efficiently garrisoned in war. The armed Englishmen abroad think it is no affair of theirs, those at home think it is

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no part of their duty to garrison and defend the keys of the Empire ; Colonial Legislatures regard it as an " Imperial responsibility," the British Parliament seems to regard it as a Colonial " burden." Meantime, places like Vancouver's, Fiji, King George's Sound, St. Helena, and others, are to be left to take care of themselves. Thus, in chasing a " will-o'-the-wisp," composed of imaginary and fantastical distinctions between " Colonial burdens " and " Imperial responsibilities," we are walking into a dangerous quagmire, to find, perhaps too late, that there are no such " distinctions " and no separate " burdens," and that with a Federal army and a Federal fleet we might have defied attack, and thus prevented war.

Our fleets, however, will want other things besides military garrisons at their bases. In these days they will need dockyards near at hand, providing sufficient means of repair ; and they will require a sure, steady, and certain supply of coal, and telegraphic communication.

To protect the trade lines in the Pacific Ocean, with its 70,000,000 square miles of water, we shall in war require an enormous fleet. That fleet should be entirely independent of Atlantic dockyards, and a great Imperial dockyard at the other side of the world is a most apparent necessity. Though Australia and New Zealand are first and chiefly concerned, it is not merely a Colonial want. Every portion of our Empire has an interest in that ocean, and therefore such a dockyard is a great Imperial requirement. If it be said our Empire cannot afford to create such a dockyard, then let us quietly haul down the Union Jack in the Pacific before we are ignominiously compelled to strike it. But before doing so, it may be worth considering whether it would not be a better alternative to abolish one of our home dockyards, and remove the officials, plant, and sufficient reserve ships to Sydney, the natural Portsmouth of the Pacific. The loss at home would be more apparent than real. Though there would be one Royal dockyard less at home, the pressure both in peace and war of the maintenance of fleets for half the world would be removed. The resources of private yards at home are so enormous that not only can they meet the demands of the mercantile marine in its busy time of peace, but they can turn out war vessels for our possible enemies by scores. They would be idle in war, and available for the construction and repair of war ships. There are no such private naval resources away from English shores, and therefore at present for aid, for reinforcements, and for maintenance, the enormous Pacific fleet responsible for the safety of half the world must in war rely on private and public yards crowded together in a small island in the

north-east corner of the Atlantic ocean! To use a homely phrase, "all our naval eggs are in one basket," and though we may lay them on one side of the globe, the communications on the other may be exposed or shut out from us while they are being hatched.

There are, however, economical as well as strategical aspects of the question of an Imperial dockyard at Sydney.

(1) A ship fitted out in England for the Pacific would be at least two months later on the scene of action than if fitted out at Sydney. The expense of her maintenance during that passage would be saved. While passing from England to the Pacific or back the vessel cannot be counted as effective force, either in that ocean or at home, and coal consumed would alone add very considerably to her value by the time she reached her destination.

(2) The resources of such a dockyard at Sydney would be available in peace for the repair and construction of merchant shipping.

(3) The extent of the ocean and the nature of the service to be performed points unmistakably to the conclusion that in war the chief demand to be met will be for swarms of small unarmoured or partially armoured cruisers. Those who have read the admirable paper on "Civilisation in the Pacific,"* by Mr. Coleman Phillips, and studied Mr. Read's essay, do not require to be told that such vessels can be constructed at Sydney cheaper than in any other part of the world.

(4) As we must expect great development in that English mercantile marine having its birthplace and its home in the great Pacific Ocean, so must we prepare to protect it in war. The ties of youth are not easily broken, and a little care and attention to a mercantile marine starting in life may be the means of binding together the interests and the sympathies of our peace and war navies on the other side of the world.

There is a cloud no bigger than a man's hand hovering near Cape Horn; it is a warning for the Empire to "gird itself up and run for the entrance of the gates of Sydney." Developments and civilisation are steadily advancing to the South, and we have allowed the coal in the Straits of Magellan to slip through our Imperial fingers. Six miles from Sandy Point a coal mine has been opened and connected by rail with the wharf. "Vegetables of all kinds are grown in abundance, and there is excellent pasture for sheep. The Settlement now to a great extent produces enough to supply itself, and it is to be hoped," says Mr. Rumbold,† "that

* See *Journal Royal Colonial Institute*, 1875-76.

† Report on the Progress and General Condition of Chili, 1875.

it will ere long even supply the Falkland Islands." Where we have not the command of coal, we shall not in war have the power of military and naval communication. A damaged or worn-out ship must under our existing arrangements sail the whole way from Sydney to Plymouth, 18,000 miles, and take chance of falling an easy prey to any small steamer having coal in her bunkers.

The Chinese Empire in the last ten years has converted one hundred and seventeen acres of ground into a dockyard and arsenal, with means and appliances both of construction and repair, quite equal to such as we require for our Pacific fleets. It is rather too much to suppose the English Empire cannot follow in the wake of the Chinese!

When we turn to the Cape, the same arguments apply towards the Imperial necessity of providing naval resources, but they are considerably modified by its proximity to England. The same Imperial reasons for providing adequate means of naval repair and protected coal stores apply to this great strategic point of empire. Powers of construction are not required, but localisation and self-reliant support of naval force in that district of ocean are equally necessary. The protection of the road round the Cape is a matter which, though it first and chiefly concerns that Colony, is nevertheless, a matter in which every portion of the Empire has a vital and direct interest. The fleet-centres appear to be England for the North Atlantic, Baltic, and Mediterranean. The Cape for the South Atlantic, Bombay for the Indian Ocean, and Sydney for the Pacific. The smaller links of the chain of responsibility which must bind the whole Empire together by defending its lines of communication must not be neglected, remembering that the whole strength is but equal to that of its weakest part. Means of minor repair, stores and coal must be provided at squadron-centres, such as St. Helena, Antigua, Mauritius, Singapore, and several other points to which I have elsewhere referred. It is impossible in a short paper, on so huge a subject, to enter into details. They will all require strong garrisons in time of war; many of them have but few English residents, and are but comparatively of small worth to trading enterprise. But places of little commercial importance in peace, will be by war suddenly transformed into positions of immense value, to which our helpless merchant shipping will naturally run for shelter and our exhausted war vessels look for succour and support. If there are no forts and no garrisons, they may seek and look in vain. There is no law of nature which strategically distributes populations, and if we hope to solve the problem of Imperial defence by the simple process of arming

residents, we may suddenly find the whole fate of our Empire depending on a corporal's guard, and reap the consequences of adopting a system which has had no place in history, dating from a time when the "four kings" waged the first war in the world, and even these "were joined together in the vale of Siddim, which is the salt sea."

It was naval and military combinations saved our Empire in the past, and that power alone can do so in the time to come. It was the ready, unfettered power of combining naval and military force applied by us at the strategic points which brought down to the dust the power of the Dutch. Let us be warned by the lesson of St. Eustatius in 1781. The Dutch power was great in the Spanish Main, their Colonies were of immense importance, and their commerce great. War was going on all round them, but true to their purely commercial instincts they neglected means of defence—it was regarded as unnecessary because they were neutral. The centre of their trade and commerce was the small island of St. Eustatius. They were making money by supplying our enemies, and thus it happened we suddenly declared war on the 21st December, 1780. Instructions were at once sent to our Admiral (Rodney) in those seas "to attack and subdue the possessions of the States General," and saying, "the islands which present themselves as first objects of attack are St. Eustatius and St. Martin's, neither of which it is supposed are capable of making any considerable resistance." These orders reached the Admiral at Barbados 27th January, 1781. He embarked military forces under General Vaughan, and on the 8th February dropped anchor at St. Eustatius. He gave the island one hour to surrender, and to use his own words, "the astonishment and surprise of the garrison and inhabitants was scarce to be described." The place instantly surrendered. Thus in an hour not only had the keys of the Dutch position in the West Indies passed into English hands, but also 180 ships, besides a Dutch frigate of thirty-eight guns, which was immediately manned by British officers and seamen, and a few days later was cruising against the Dutch and capturing Dutch ships! "Had the Dutch," says Rodney, "been as attentive to their security as they were to their profits, the Island had been impregnable." Thus was St. Eustatius taken, and with it fell the islands of Saba and St. Martin, and seven weeks later the Colonies of Demerara and Essequibo. Now, had the forces of General Vaughan been rooted to Barbados, Rodney could not have struck this Imperial blow at the centre of national Dutch power.

We carefully study Napoleon's preparations for invasion, in order

to learn how to resist it; we take no notice of his elaborate arrangements for the capture of our strategic points abroad, particularly St. Helena, then strongly garrisoned and defended. So little do we value it now, that though at the outbreak of war with Russia in 1854 a heavy Russian frigate was known to be in the South Atlantic on passage to the Pacific, no official notice that the English Empire was at war was sent to the Government of our most important outpost in that sea.* It is important to remember this in connection with what I have previously stated, viz. that the seizure of St. Helena means the partial investment of the United Kingdom, the lock-out of all our Colonies whose lines pass round both Capes, the loss of our command in half the world. Though the United Kingdom is first and chiefly concerned in the defence of St. Helena, every portion of the British Empire is vitally interested in its security.

If we do not value such places because they are ours, let us remember what we suffered when they were in an enemy's hands. Take the Mauritius as an example of this. Napoleon recognised the importance of that strategic position, and amply provided for its requirements. De la Bourdonnais, some sixty years before, had developed its resources as a naval base. As a French post it was a thorn in the side of British India and British trade in the East. The Marquis of Wellesley resolved in 1800 to take it, and a military force 1,800 strong was collected for the purpose at Trincomalee, commanded by Colonel Wellesley, afterwards the Duke of Wellington. It could not go without a naval escort, it was helpless without the fleet, and there it had to wait for Admiral Rainer's squadrons. When they arrived the Admiral objected to the proceedings, and the expedition had therefore to be abandoned.† Now those who think a fleet can go anywhere and do anything without a movable army, or that naval bases can be left unprovided with fortifications and garrisons, should carefully study history. I submit one passage from the secret and private despatch of Marquess Wellesley, 5th February, 1801: "A naval war of the most destructive nature is now actually waged by the enemy against the commerce of India by the aid of those French Islands, and cannot be terminated without their reduction." It is generally supposed

* I have this on the very best authority.

† It is worthy of note that in 1794, at Bastia, the same description of administrative difficulty arose, but with the conditions reversed. General Dundas would not do as the Admiral (Hood) and Nelson wished. In this case, however, the navy did what the general "after mature consideration" considered to be impossible. No one, however, was more astonished at the successful result of the naval siege of Bastia than Nelson himself.

“Trafalgar” effectually settled our supremacy of the sea all over the world; but that is a mistake. The batteries and garrison of this French strategic position enabled the French fleet to defy our naval forces on Indian seas for five long years after that decisive battle was fought. The damage that fleet inflicted on our commerce was almost past calculation. “In 1807,” says Beveridge,* “the port of Calcutta alone in six weeks sustained losses by capture to the amount of £800,000.” In 1809 four frigates under Captain Willoughby, with a detachment of the 83rd and 69th regiments, attempted to take Port Louis. We lost all four frigates in the fruitless attempt. They fell a sacrifice to naval and military combination and shore batteries. When the French boarded Captain Willoughby’s ship they found nothing but wounded, dead, and dying, and he himself sitting on the capstan, his arm dangling in its socket, his eye hanging on his cheek, singing, “Rule Britannia.” Britannia, however, did not rule in this region for another year, when the place was taken by 10,000 troops and eighteen ships of war. These are useful facts to remember in days of free trade, when the wealth of the English race covers the world “as the waters cover the seas.” Let the advocates of the simple system of undefended coal ports, dockless and unfortified naval bases, and self-reliant immovable detachments, remember that at present a filibustering force even can take most of them, and once taken from us we shall have no movable military force available to recapture them, for the moment they are taken they will at once be put in a state of defence. Let it also not be forgotten that even if England and her Colonies combine to fortify and defend them now before it is too late, hornets’ nests may still be established round Australia, the Cape, and the West Indies, and we must in war have movable military forces to root out and to destroy them.

It seems to be forgotten that free trade in peace means in war naval armaments of all descriptions and sorts beyond calculation great. We are not, and we never can be, a great military nation, but if we are to live as an empire, if we Englishmen are to live at all, we must hold together on the sea. To do so, England and her Colonies must combine and the British Empire “grapple to its soul with hooks of steel” the strategic points of power on the sea.

The aggregate annual value of exports and imports of British Colonies and Possessions is something like £800,000,000. The value of exports and imports of the United Kingdom in 1806 was but some £60,000,000, while last year it was £655,000,000, there-

* History of British India.

fore the Colonies alone have five times and we have ten times a greater stake in the sea than we had in the year succeeding Trafalgar. The navy estimates for 1805 were £14,493,848; in 1814 they were £22,000,000, or a little over one-fourth of the value of our exports and imports of that year. The value of exports and imports of Australian Colonies alone is now equal to that of England and France together in 1802—the year of the peace of Amiens. Such facts as these sufficiently indicate that the burden of protection of our common commerce in war must be shared and justly distributed according to the capacity of the several joints in the Imperial back; they point unmistakably, first, to Federal naval positions, and, next, to a Federal fleet and a Federal movable army to support that fleet.

¶ If the Empire has deliberately accepted the principle that each portion of it should be independently responsible for its territorial defence, no matter whether the population or internal resources of each are sufficient for the purpose or not, it has accepted a principle which renders it liable in war to subjugation in detail, unless the fallacy be assumed that the fleet of the United Kingdom can everywhere prevent any hostile attack exceeding in power means of isolated local defence. More than this, it risks the command of the sea, without which territorial defence in the United Kingdom means starvation, and in the Colonies ruin. I venture to think the Colonies have never been asked a question in the matter, and have simply accepted this principle of “domestic defence” because they were left no choice but to adopt it. They are loyal and they are true, and though they must each and all, except Canada, acknowledge military weakness, they trust implicitly to one of two things—first, that war may not come till time has made them strong; second, that if it does come before they are ready, they trust to the statesmen of England to provide for every deficiency, and to cover every defect: they look to them, in short, to do “the rest.” Now it is just these very deficiencies, it is just these very defects, it is, in short, “the rest” of Imperial defence that the statesmen of England cannot provide for without the spontaneous pressure of hearty, willing, and practical co-operation of the Colonies. They require watching and urging on, and they would not be human if they did not.

It is most important to remember that in 1854 we drifted into a war wholly unprepared. We declared war, and left “the rest” to the War Office and the Admiralty, and land transport, food, and clothing for our Crimean army was lost in the gulf which lies between the two departments. In that year the Secretary of State

for War ceased to be also Secretary for the Colonies, and their affairs passed into the hands of a separate officer of State. It is worthy of note that the requirements of a great war which threatened the Colonies rendered it necessary to transfer in 1794 their affairs from the Home Office to the War Department, while the necessities of a smaller war which—as Russia was then weak in the Pacific—did not threaten them, caused the care of the Colonies to be transferred to an office altogether separate. The next great war will find all matters relating to Colonial defence between three stools instead of two. Now, this may account for a good deal of that fog which envelops Imperial defence.

The War Office regards it as chiefly an Admiralty or Colonial Office question: the Admiralty views it as either a War Office or Colonial Office matter; and the Colonial Office, having neither fleets nor armies at its disposal, feels quite certain it only concerns the War Office and Admiralty. The easy way out of the difficulty is to leave each Colony to provide for its own defence in any way it thinks fit, and to trust “the rest” to “English pluck” and “English spirit.” There is no Colonial branch of the Admiralty or War Office, there is no war branch of the Colonial Office, and therefore it is not surprising that every military and naval change has hitherto tended to distort the English vision from taking one wide view of the whole great question; nor should we wonder that Imperial defence has been split up into little bits and strewn about the world.

The people of the United Kingdom would, I believe, spend their last shilling, and fight to their last man, to preserve the Empire intact, and would prepare to do so, and to take their full share of Imperial duty in defence, if they only knew how, if they could only grapple with that “rest,” which the Colonies look to the statesmen of England to do. Englishmen in the Colonies are not different from Englishmen at home, and an Imperial commission, such as I ventured to suggest ten years ago, and have humbly pleaded for many times since, would let in a flood of Imperial light upon the “parochial” English mind, and let the world know we meant to stick together in defending each other.

It is for Home and Colonial Legislatures, it is for England’s sons all over the world to make their voices heard on this matter. We of this generation are the pioneers of the next. When all Europe is an armed camp, and when one single Power like Germany, which had but one corvette and two small gunboats in 1848, bids fair to be soon the third great naval power of the world, we cannot go unarmed. We push to the front Home and Colonial

statesmen to warn us of dangers and difficulties ahead; they are the scouts of our history yet to be written, and in days of consolidating power they must not be blind.

We can hear behind us the measured tread of a host of advancing English nations, whose common path we are to prepare to make plain, and to render safe. We see before us tangled masses of confused systems, which we must do our best to clear away. We are warned of the dangers of our path by the whitened bones of empires which have gone before and perished.

But through the sunshine of peace, or through the darkness and gloom of war, our clear duty and our only hope is still to advance "shoulder to shoulder," helping the weak and cheering on the strong until we have prepared for those who come after us a safe camping-ground on the shores of a great future. Then, and not till then, can we take the rest of the weary, confident that, so far as in us lies, we have done our part to ensure that our Empire shall remain one and indivisible "till wars have ceased in all the world."

DISCUSSION.

Major-General MACDOUGALL: My Lord Duke, ladies, and gentlemen,—The advocates of Colonial connection may, I think, congratulate themselves on the fact that during the last few years what was called the anti-Colonial party has been growing "smaller by degrees and beautifully less." (Laughter, and hear, hear.) That party ten or twelve years ago was strong and rampant, and its apostles loudly proclaimed the doctrine that Great Britain would be Greater Britain if shorn of her Colonial dependencies, just in proportion as her expenditure and responsibilities were diminished. Happily no argument is now required to show that the pride which all Englishmen take in the greatness of this Empire constitutes a real power; and that the distinction and prestige and moral force which are the attributes of the Empire are worth preserving, even though their preservation may entail a certain yearly expenditure. No doubt the Colonies of Great Britain do present vulnerable points to the attack of an enemy; and, separated as they are by long distances from each other, and from the mother-country, the problem of Colonial defence is one not very easy of solution. As Captain Colomb has pointed out, the first thing to be considered is how to apportion the responsibility of the mother-country and the Colonies respectively in this matter, and I am bound to record my opinion that the object which Captain Colomb has so ably advocated this evening is surrounded by immense difficulties—(hear,

hear)—and that in order to begin on a proper foundation it is absolutely necessary—before you prescribe what the duties of the Colonies are to be in the matter of defence—that you should give them representation in a Parliament of the Empire, so that they may have a voice in respect to the measures towards which they are expected to contribute. (Hear, hear.) It appears to me to be almost beside the mark to talk about obliging the Colonies to perform certain duties when we really have no power in the matter. (Hear, hear.) If I had had the advantage of reading the paper I hold in my hand a few hours earlier, I might have done more justice to the highly able address to which we have all listened, I am sure, with so much pleasure. As it is, I must say I am not inclined to criticise, and the hour also reminds me that it would be indiscreet and improper in me to detain this company any longer.

Sir ROBERT R. TORRENS, K.C.M.G.: My Lord Duke, ladies, and gentlemen,—The subject under discussion—always important—is of paramount interest at the present juncture; and, whilst listening to the admirable paper just read, the thought occurred to me that, if only the strategic positions indicated by Captain Colomb were made as impregnable as his argument, we might rest in perfect security. Captain Colomb has rightly divided the subject under two aspects—first, the military, or strategic view; secondly, the political, or economic view. As regards the former, he has assailed and completely demolished the assumption that an effectual defence of the Empire can be attained through the isolated, unorganised action of each distinct possession dependent upon its own resources and its willingness to utilise them; and he has clinched the argument on that head by pointing out that the best and most effectual defences for some of our richest and most powerful Colonies are situated outside the limits of their territories, even thousands of miles away. He has indicated King George's Sound in illustration of this. It needs no argument, for a glance at the map demonstrates the fact, that vessels of war destined for attack upon Adelaide, Melbourne, or any other of the Australian seaports, whether they approach by the Red Sea route or round the Cape of Good Hope, must put into King George's Sound to replenish their coal-bunkers, or otherwise when they reach the point of attack they would be unable to keep the sea, their coals being exhausted after three weeks' or a month's steaming. The outer harbour at King George's Sound is capacious, and the granite cliffs which flank it on either side afford the greatest facilities for defence. The inner harbour is approached by a narrow channel, through which an attacking vessel must approach stem on exposed to the broadside

of any vessel from within, and to the fire of batteries on the rocks which completely command it. I have seldom seen a place that could be more easily fortified. In fact, it may, at a trifling cost, be rendered as impregnable as Aden. The P. and O. Company use this as their chief coaling station, and without it they could not carry on their great carrying trade with the Australian Colonies. Their occupation of the place for that purpose would alone suffice to show its importance; whilst the vast amount of coal stored there constitutes a tempting inducement to an enemy's vessel. King George's Sound is, in fact, the key to all the ports on the southern seaboard of the Australian continent, and yet is absolutely undefended. It would be out of all reason to call upon Western Australia to bear the expense of fortifying and maintaining this place. The Colony is too poor to undertake any such burden, and I do not believe that the little settlement at Albany could muster as many able-bodied men as would furnish a single gun detachment. The condition of this important strategic point is alone sufficient to arouse this country from the dreamy state of false security into which we have drifted. (Hear, hear.) The principle of securing outlying strategic points is the same that we have adopted for security in our railway traffic—"the block system" (hear, hear)—by which we may arrest the danger at a distance from the vulnerable places which invite cupidity; and no doubt the first and grand strategic position, whether for India, China, or Australia, is the Suez Canal. It is vain to shut our eyes to that fact. Britannia must put down her foot and declare unmistakably to all the world that the Canal shall be held open to the commercial marine of all the world, and in time of war open to the transports and war ships of England, and of England alone. (Hear, hear.) I will not occupy the time of the meeting by any further observations on the military aspect of this question, which has already been so ably and exhaustively treated by Captain Colomb. I wish, however, to make a few remarks on the political or economic view of the subject, which has been alluded to by the gallant General who preceded me. I have said that the theory of defence by the isolated, independent, and unorganised efforts of each Colony has been completely demolished by Captain Colomb; and the moment we enter upon the question of combined action for that essential object, we find ourselves brought face to face with that great and momentous question which has so often been debated in this society, I mean the relative position and mutual obligations of the mother-country and the Colonies to provide for the cost of defence by taxation directly involving representation,

for the two must go hand in hand. (Hear, hear.) I will not at this hour attempt to enter upon that grand question, but I will call into court an advocate whose authority will be acknowledged by every person in this large assembly. I refer to the father of economic science, Adam Smith. (Hear hear.) He wrote a few sentences so apt to the question we have under consideration, and at the same time so clear, wise, and concisely expressed, that I cannot do better than call attention to them. He says: "Great Britain is the only nation which, as it has extended its empire, has only increased its expenses without once augmenting its resources. . . . In order that a province should be advantageous to the Empire to which it belongs, it should contribute its proportion to the general Government. . . . Colonies should be taxed by requisition, Parliament determining the sum which each Colony ought to pay, and the Provincial Assembly levying the assigned quota in the way best suited to the circumstances of the provinces. . . . The British Constitution should be completed by representation of the Colonies, and seems to be incomplete without it. . . . The amount of representation should be proportionate to the amount of contribution to the Imperial fund, and I know of no objection thereto that is insurmountable." Those words were written one hundred and twenty years ago under circumstances very different from those in which we now live. At that time the independence of the United States of America had not been declared, neither had there been granted to the Colonies what is called Parliamentary Government. Our own Constitution in this country had not settled down, and, as it were, crystallised to its present condition. Circumstances like these no doubt alter the position, and interpose difficulties to realising the aspirations of the great philosopher. But I would conclude by asking you to contemplate what might have been our position at this time if the wise counsels of Adam Smith had been followed in that day. We should not have heard—as we have heard—allusion made to a life and death struggle on the St. Lawrence between two races of Englishmen. The English-speaking race would have been united in one nation. No Eastern Question under such circumstances would have disturbed our nerves in the least. We should now be in a position of such power that we might not only rest in peace ourselves, but might also dictate a policy of peace to the whole world.

Mr. E. J. REED, M.P.: This is the first time I have had the honour of attending a meeting of this Institute, and I am sure if the paper and discussion which we have just heard may be taken as examples of what usually occur here, it is simply impossible to

exaggerate the importance of such a body. The paper summons us to lofty levels of consideration, and I for one entirely despair of offering any observations on the same plains. I am afraid that in discussing the question in the few moments allotted to me under the rule laid down by the noble chairman—which might have been enforced in “another place” during the last five days with great advantage—(laughter)—I am afraid I shall have to advert to very practical points only. I propose, at any rate, to avoid the very large and most important question which has been adverted to by two distinguished speakers that have preceded me, namely, the representation of the Colonies in Parliament. For my own part, I would rather see the House of Commons diminished than increased. (Hear, hear.) At the same time, I would willingly exchange 200 of its present members for 100 Colonial members. (Laughter, and hear, hear.) There are several points in this paper that have struck me as remarkable. The whole paper forcibly presents to one’s mind that in this country we go from hand to mouth, and just muddle on from day to day and year to year even with reference to Imperial questions. (Hear, hear.) And I am afraid it must be left to such bodies as this to supply the deficiencies of the weightier and more organised bodies in Parliament. With regard to our own defence, we have not a particle of system in what is done in this country. (Hear, hear.) We are a great naval country without a single particle of naval system. Let me illustrate that as to the present question by adverting to a matter mentioned in Captain Colomb’s paper. We build—I don’t know why—but we frequently build vessels which cannot go away from our own shores. I think that is a perfectly absurd thing for England to do. (Hear, hear.) I think that England ought to spend no money whatever on vessels which cannot proceed to sea if necessary, and for the reason that England has in herself resources which, with the smallest organisation, would produce in the smallest space of time what is necessary for home defence over and above the seagoing vessels. But not only is that the case—not only can we not organise our home arrangements with any approximate success, but I think we fail miserably indeed when we look farther afield. We have heard a great deal about the Pacific, and I must say that of all the important points brought out in the paper—and they have been very numerous—not one excited so much interest in my mind as the reference to our possessions in the North Pacific. (Hear, hear.) And yet, in spite of the importance of our defences there, during the past few weeks we have actually done nothing with regard to them. We have even sent as a flag-ship to Pacific waters an unarmoured

vessel. (Laughter.) It is years ago since the necessities of the case compelled us to send an armoured ship as a flag-ship to the Pacific. And since that was done the Powers on the Western Coast of America and other parts of the Southern Continent of America have multiplied considerably their ironclad vessels, and we are likely to meet in the Pacific as representatives of smaller Powers several ironclads of considerable offensive and defensive power. Yet we, at a time like this, through nothing else than want of organisation, I presume, send out an unarmoured ship that would inevitably have to run away from an ironclad. And this occurs at a time when we should exercise more and more care with regard to our possessions, or those which are of vital importance. On this point I would say one other thing—it is suggested by my distinguished friend Dr. Russell—and it is this, that the circumstances of our possessions in the Pacific differ very much from the circumstances of our possessions in other parts of the world. They differ in this respect, that, while in other parts of the world we might see great difficulty in the way of a foreign Power attempting to secure permanent possession, with regard to our Colonies in the Pacific there are no such difficulties, and they are just the kind of places that Russia would be likely to aim at for permanent occupation. (Cheers.) For that reason we ought to pay the greatest possible attention to our possessions in the Pacific. Another suggestion made in the paper is one in which I entirely concur, and one which I think ought to be dealt with without waiting for Colonial representation in Parliament—namely, the establishment of a dockyard and arsenal station in the South Seas. I think it could be shown as a matter of economy, for reasons some of which were adduced by the author, that it would be an advantage in a pecuniary sense to this country to establish such a station and dockyard there. Why, we know—we know and many others know; I myself have some knowledge on the point from having been in an official position in the Naval department—the long, weary weeks and months, and expensive weeks and months too, that are occupied by our war vessels in getting to and from Australia; and I say, though this is not an occasion on which language of great strength should be used, that it is from want of attention to the most ordinary business of the country on the part of those who, no doubt distracted by many other duties, are entitled to great excuse—it is, I say, a piece of neglect of duty that such a vital station as that I have been referring to has not been established long since. I believe the Colonies would take part, and a very important part, in the establishment of such a station—(hear,

hear) ;—and I believe that, without waiting for any great change in the relations between the Colonies and the Imperial Government, that such a thing as that could be brought about. I know from experience that Colonial gentlemen are very clever in getting things out of this country. I remember when Mr. Verdon came over here from Victoria with authority to spend something like £20,000 ; and I will tell you what he got for it. In the first place, he got an ironclad ship which cost £120,000—(laughter)—and a free gift of a line-of-battle ship which probably cost £100,000, and beside that he obtained for his Colony great credit for its enterprise and spirit, and for himself a distinction from the Crown. Now there is an example of what the Colonies can do when they put themselves into direct communication with the Imperial Government for the purpose of improving local defences in that part of the world. I have thought a good deal, during the reading of this paper, of one thing. The paper throws down before us a vast number of problems, and puts to us a still vaster number of interrogations. The interrogative form of much of the paper struck me very much, and it seemed to me that someone—some individual or body of individuals—should take up the problems as they are thrown down. The only suggestion that I discovered in the paper for doing that was the appointment of a Royal Commission. (Hear, hear.) I for one should be delighted to see such a Royal Commission, but I am rather afraid that Royal Commissioners, like Parliamentary Committees, have become instruments for rather different objects than that of promoting the well-being of the Empire. I am afraid they have become instruments of utility for meeting certain conditions in the political world. That is to a certain extent the case. But looking at the influential nature of this body, and the audience I see around me, I would suggest whether it is not in the power of this Institution, in alliance with the great representation of the Colonies that exists in London at this time, to take up the question, and so advance it beyond the present somewhat distracted form which it presents. I believe if that were done we should arrive at important results earlier than you expect. Let it be remembered that there is in this country one body powerful enough to do almost anything it wishes, I mean the Government of the day. (Hear, hear.) It is not unfrequent for them to take up things which a few weeks before were mere dreams. The moment the Government takes them up they became practically embodied things, and I think that the scheming out of naval stations over the face of the globe, and the selection of such as may be best for defence and for strategic purposes, the establishment of a dockyard and the building

of Colonial ships, are subjects which may be advanced to practical conclusions by the aid of this society. (Hear, hear.)

Major-General COLLINSON: Ladies and gentlemen,—After the speech you have just heard, I will only venture to draw your attention to a point on which I feel myself perhaps more competent to speak. I am one of those who have been advocating preparation in England against invasion very strongly indeed, therefore I wish to take the opportunity of stating before this assembly as distinctly and strongly as I can that my object, and I believe the object of almost all people who promoted views similar to my own in the United Service Institution and out of it, is not at all to confine our attention merely to the defence of the United Kingdom. (Hear, hear.) Our great desire has been to stir up the people of this country to put themselves in such a state of defence that the regular army and navy will be available for the defence of the whole Empire. That, perhaps, will lead you to consider the point of view connected with the defence of each individual colony; that may help you a little towards some elucidation of this great question. Because, if you want to realise a strong body of local forces, both naval and military, to act on great strategic lines and attack a strong enemy, you must provide that your strongholds, arsenals, depôts, and islands are in a thorough state of defence themselves by local means. That is one point in which I think the Colonies may assist in the defence of the Empire—by securing that their own ports, and particularly those that are important to the strategic defence of the Empire, are in a secure state of defence. There is another point, although it is not a military one, on which I would venture to ask for your consideration. In a great naval warfare I think we may consider that there are two very distinct lines of action. One is the defence of the trade of the sea, the commerce connected with the mother-country and its out-lying dependencies. To secure that, we must have cruisers acting along the main lines of commerce. These cruisers, I will venture to say—speaking in the presence of distinguished Naval men—need not be of the very strong nature of our great men-of-war, they may be of a lighter description, such as the Colonies themselves, perhaps, may be able to produce. And there is another advantage in this, that these sort of cruisers require very bold cruisers. One of the points in which I have understood lately we are deficient in Great Britain, and are likely to become more so, is seamen, and if the Colonies would assist in providing this class of cruisers for the defence of the lines of commerce, they would be assisting at the same time to preserve a great race of seamen, which has been

really the main foundation of our Empire. (Hear, hear.) The other line of operation in a great maritime warfare is that of the great general attack of the enemy. That must take place upon great strategic lines that may be different from those of commerce, and it must be supported by great strategic points, which points must be selected not with reference to the defence of the Colonies particularly or the defence of commerce in particular, but for offensive position—the best position for attacking an enemy. I think, for that part of maritime warfare, you may very fairly call on the Imperial Government to provide. These two divisions of naval warfare show, to a certain extent, that there are possibly two lines on which the Imperial Government and the Colonial Government may act in concert. (Hear, hear.) I certainly do congratulate, not only the society and the Colonies, but also the mother-country, that there is a fresh tone taken up with reference to the defence of the Empire and our Colonial system; and without venturing to express a strong opinion as to the exact mode of carrying on this question, I may say that I agree with what Mr. Reed has said with reference to this Institute being the main instrument in stirring the country up, and I think that whatever action you take may lead to something higher and more permanent. There is a great opening for the Institute in this great question of Imperial defence, because that can only be discussed by a sort of representative body from all parts of the Empire; therefore, if you do raise the question thoroughly in this country, it may lead to the institution of some sort of permanent Council of Defence for the Empire. (Hear, hear.) This question, as I say, is now rising into notice in England. I heard an anecdote not long ago showing that the power and importance of our race in the world is felt almost more strongly by our cousins across the Atlantic than ourselves. I heard that a United States man had made the remark that if there were a parade of the whole world, and the word was passed down the line, “Fall out all those that speak English,” “I guess, sir,” he said, “they would whop the balance.” (Laughter, and hear, hear.)

Mr. DONALD CURRIE paid a high tribute to the efforts which Captain Colomb had made for very many years past in the direction indicated by his lecture. He said that public attention was now fixed upon the importance of prompt and systematic plans for Imperial and national defences, and illustrated the necessity for immediate action on the part of Her Majesty's Government in carrying out a complete system of communication by telegraph between the mother-country and her dependencies abroad; for the early

establishment of a double alternative telegraphic service with them all, and for graving docks abroad, showing that there was not one between England and Australia. Mr. Currie also pointed out the self-interest, as well as patriotism, which would prompt the Colonies to assist the mother-country in the protection of coaling stations, as well as the establishment of docks, and every measure in harmony with Imperial plans for national defences.

Mr. STRANGWAYS here moved the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. YOUNG (Hon. Sec.) : I think it would perhaps be desirable to adjourn the debate. There are several gentlemen here who would like to speak, and whom we should like to hear. I think, therefore, that it would be well if we now adjourned. I have made inquiries, and have ascertained that we can have this room on Friday next. I do not consider that it would be advisable for us to adjourn for any lengthened period,—the sooner we meet the better. I beg to second the proposal for adjournment.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY also spoke in favour of adjournment, stating that there were several gentlemen present who wished to express opinions—gentlemen who were not perhaps in favour of the whole of Captain Colomb's scheme.

The Duke of MANCHESTER : In all probability I may not be able to attend on Friday, therefore I would now thank Captain Colomb for his able paper. I should just like also to allude to the fact that two gentlemen who have spoken here to-day have advocated a measure which not many years ago was treated with contempt and almost ridiculed by the first and leading journal of the country and of the world. It is gratifying to those who have ably and persistently ridden their hobby, like Mr. Labilliere and Mr. Young, to find their opinions endorsed by people of weight who are not connected with them either in business pursuits or politics ; and I congratulate the Institute, which has always taken a very prominent part in the science of politics, that the position we have taken up that the Colonies ought to be represented, as Major-General McDougall said, in a Federal Parliament,—therefore doing away with the objection which Mr. Reed had to an increase in the House of Commons,—is one which is advocated by important persons. It is against the rules, perhaps, for me to speak thus on the motion of adjournment. I will merely state, then, that the meeting is adjourned until Friday next at eight o'clock.

Mr. YOUNG announced that the Annual *Conversazione* would take place on Wednesday, June 13th ; and that on June 7th, Mr. Donald Currie would originate a discussion on the present state of affairs in South Africa. The meeting then separated.

NINTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Ninth Ordinary General Meeting was held at the "Pall Mall," on Friday, May 18th, 1877, the Hon. **ARTHUR KINNAIRD, M.P.**, in the chair.

The **HONORARY SECRETARY** (Frederick Young, Esq.) read the minutes of the last meeting, which were confirmed.

The **CHAIRMAN** then called on Mr. Strangways, who had moved the adjournment of the discussion.

Mr. H. B. T. STRANGWAYS promised to try to keep his remarks within the prescribed ten minutes ; but it was uncommonly difficult to do so on a subject of that kind. He congratulated Captain Colomb on having enlarged his ideas more nearly in accordance with the actual facts. He had pointed out in his paper that in an earlier paper he stated that the area of the British Empire outside England was thirty times that of the United Kingdom. He was to be congratulated on having doubled his ideas, for he now stated that it was more than sixty times as large ; and even in that he was a long way off the actual fact, for the Empire of England outside England was more than seventy times as large as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and even with that they could leave out of consideration altogether a large number of islands and other small possessions of England. He did not desire to cause a debate on questions that had so frequently been debated further than was essentially necessary. He thanked Captain Colomb most heartily for his contribution to the literature of the subject which that Institute had most sincerely at heart, for, without any exception, it was the best and the most powerful paper that had ever yet been written on the subject of Imperial Federation. On that subject Captain Colomb said nothing in his paper ; but no one who looked at all the bearings of the question, and who considered them from the points from which they would really have to be considered, could fail to see that when they came to the question of payments, and when they came to the question of maintaining those strategic points which had been referred to, and to the question who was to pay for them, they came to the other question which Major-General McDougall had just hinted at, the question of the representation of the Colonies in this country. (Hear, hear.) Now he understood Mr. Reed to say he would be very glad indeed to exchange some 200

members of the House of Commons for 100 colonists, but he had since written to the *Times* to say he did not wish to see the colonists in the Imperial Parliament. But he was never understood to have said so, but to mean that there were 200 members of Parliament that might be exchanged, and that the change would not be for the worse. There was no doubt whatever that there were many members of the House of Commons who would think that a 16-stone colonist might possibly turn out to be a great deal worse than a Biggar! Leaving that matter, he came to the question, which was not new to him, of calling upon the Colonies to contribute to the maintenance of those strategic points. He would first say, in reference to Captain Colomb's suggestion that there should be a dockyard at Sydney, that that view was entirely upheld by Mr. Reed for purposes of economy, and that only. But it was extremely doubtful whether, under the existing state of affairs, the Colonial Government would permit the Imperial Government to establish a dockyard there. They might think that a strong statement to make; but he spoke from personal knowledge when he said that that question had been debated, not in the local Parliaments—for those things were not brought forward in Parliament till the time of action arrived—but it had been debated amongst many public men in the Colonies whether they would permit the establishment of such an Imperial warlike settlement as a dockyard would be. He reminded them that some years ago, in the earlier days of the Australian Colonies, the whole of the troops stationed there were paid for by the Imperial Government. Latterly the Colonies were called upon to contribute £40 per man per annum to the cost of the troops stationed there. On being called upon to contribute, they inquired, and he thought properly so, of the Imperial Government, whether, if they contributed to the cost of troops in time of peace, the presence of those troops in time of war could be relied upon. The answer was, and it proceeded of course from the Manchester School, "We call upon you to contribute in time of peace, but we reserve the right of withdrawing those troops in time of war;" and it was the opposition that arose in the Australian Colonies to paying for troops, in time of peace, that might be removed in time of war, that led to the actual removal of the troops stationed there. There arose some six or seven years ago the question of the probability of war taking place between England and America about the *Alabama* claims. It should be remembered that the Colonies had been distinctly told by the Radical party in England that, if they liked to separate themselves from the Imperial Government, the latter, although they did not wish them to do so,

would not stand in the way; and while they felt that they were liable at any time to be involved—not from any fault of their own, not from any fault of their own Government, or wrong-doing over which they had any control, but it would have been from the stupidity of the English Government or the mercenary motives of a member of the Imperial Legislation that they might be involved in war—then they began seriously to consider whether they ought not to take the hint given by the Government of the day, and provide for their own safety by their own independence. Things had changed since then; and he believed that the alteration of feeling which had taken place in this country, and in the Colonies also, consequent upon the change that had taken place here, led the colonists, he might say, throughout every part of the British Empire to desire to remain connected with, and to form part of, the Empire of England. (Hear, hear.) He put this forward as a matter to be dealt with. He did not put it forward on that occasion for the first time, for some twelve months ago he took upon himself to address a letter to Lord Beaconsfield on the subject, and pointed out to him the questions that would arise, should England be involved in war, as to the position of the Colonies; and it was put to him plainly as a statesman, but he appeared to have no time for taking into consideration the question whether some arrangements could not be arrived at by which the large Colonial Empire of England, which really would suffer if England was involved in war, whether the colonists might not have some voice in the question of whether England should go to war or not; and nothing, he believed, had occurred that would tend more strongly or properly to bring that question before the Houses of Parliament than the very excellent and well-reasoned-out paper which Captain Colomb read on Tuesday, May 16th. He submitted for the consideration of themselves, many of them colonists from all parts of the world, whether their lives, the lives of their relatives, their welfare, and the protection of their property, was not as much entitled to be represented and considered in the question of deciding whether they should be involved in peace or war, as the lives and property of any other of Her Majesty's subjects. (Hear, hear.) That was a question that could not be shirked. He was not speaking his own opinion only, but that of a large number of colonists, when he said that he believed that if England did become engaged in a maritime war which involved the safety of the great Colonies, or tended to deprive the colonists of their property, that that war would have one of two effects—it would either result in the breaking up of the English Empire, or it would have the effect of consolidating the

various possessions of England and England herself (he quoted the words of the *Times*, which he presumed he might take as an authority on that subject) into "the greatest Empire which the world had yet seen." It was because he believed in Captain Colomb's paper, which pointed out the dangers existing—not in one place, not in the British or the Bristol Channel, or the North Sea, or on the immediate shores of England, but in every part of the world, from one corner of the map to the other. If all those parts of the British Empire could be consolidated together, then he believed there was no power in Europe that dared go to war with them. Captain Colomb had alluded to other questions, such as the protection of private property at sea. But it was to be observed that even at the present time, if England and her Colonies were one, and were all united together, determined to fight the great battle together—there were the Colonies of America, Africa, and Australia—they could sweep the flag of every other nation from the ocean without any difficulty whatever. On the matter connected with that subject Captain Colomb brought forward in illustration the success that attended the *Alabama*, and he intimated that that might be followed in the future to the detriment of British commerce. He had heard on good authority that Captain Semmes used to complain that he was often unjustly charged with unnecessarily destroying the ships of the Northern States. He was charged with sailing about to all parts of the world to look for them, and he complained that he did not always look for them, but that the ships looked for him, and that he only had to let them know where he was to be found and his North-countrymen, heavily insured against war risks, would come down there to find him, and he had to burn them because he could not get rid of them on any other terms! (Laughter.) He mentioned that to assure them that, even if we went to war, there was no necessity to be frightened with a repetition of the case of the *Alabama*. If we were to fight on the *Alabama* plan, why in one week we could put out two hundred *Alabamas*, each one of them as good as the *Alabama* herself; and if that was the course to be adopted in future, they could fight in that way also. A great deal had been said by Sir Robert Torrens about King George's Sound. He had been there, and was glad to get out of it. It was not, he thought, such a useful place as represented; it was situated round a corner, and was not in any of the great ocean tracks, and was of no very material use except from the fact that it was a coal depôt for the P. & O. Company's steamers. Twenty years ago, when he was there, the steamers could not run down from Ceylon to the next port of call, Adelaide, without coaling at

King George's Sound; now, however, they ran from Ceylon to Adelaide in a less number of days than they used to take from Ceylon to King George's Sound. He thought, therefore, he was justified in saying that they could take that harbour, if they at all desired it, without doing great harm. It had no natural resources, its natural resources were confined chiefly to a large quantity of sand, some natives, and some bronze-wing pigeons. He did not think it was likely to be very useful to an enemy. There were two ways round Australia. They could go round by the west or by the east; and if the mails were taken round by the east instead of the west, the value of King George's Sound, he did not think, would be found to be very great. In conclusion, he expressed thanks to Captain Colomb for his paper, and hoped that public attention would be directed to it, and that we should hear no more from people outside of the desirability of breaking up the Empire of England. Now that Captain Colomb had directed attention to the vulnerable points of the Empire, it would probably lead to more public attention being given to those points than hitherto; and in respect to the suggestion that there should be a Royal Commission—and he was strongly in favour of that—although it might be said that whilst they talked about the consolidation of the Empire, whilst they desired to do this and that, yet the only suggestion they could make was that a Royal Commission should be appointed, yet upon that point he would say that the first thing they had to do, when they wished to attain any end, was to ascertain the best means of gaining that end. They should remember the enormous number of conflicting interests to be considered (and every one of those Colonies, from North America down to New Zealand, would have to be consulted), and they must remember that none of those Colonies were in any way subject to the British Parliament. They were subjects of the Queen, and owed their allegiance to her Majesty, which they readily yielded; but they were not subject to the British Parliament, from the fact that the Parliament could not pass laws to govern them, and they were subject to the Queen only. It was on that account, and on account of the conflicting interests that had to be considered and the enormous number of details to be arranged, that he desired that a Royal Commission should be appointed by the present Government, the distinguished head of which (Lord Beaconsfield) had announced that it was one of the main and leading policies of his Government to consolidate the British Empire. And if he would appoint a Commission to inquire into the best means of doing these things, though it might not immediately result in carrying out the objects they had in view,

still it would bring prominently before the public and the Parliament here, who would have to deal with the question, the great difficulties which must be dealt with; and he believed at no very distant period of time that the dream which some of them indulged in would be realised, and that England and her great Colonies would form a great and united Empire. (Applause.)

Captain GILMORE, late Colonial Secretary, and Member of the Executive Council of Tasmania, in making some few observations, said he would beg to state that he had not the pleasure of being present on last Tuesday evening, when Captain Colomb's paper was read on "*Imperial and Colonial Responsibilities in War.*" But the paper having been forwarded to him yesterday, he had perused it with much interest, and, as an Australian colonist, he felt grateful to Captain Colomb for the manner in which he had brought this subject forward. It must be evident to everyone, when we speak of the defences and protection in war of the Colonial Empire of Great Britain, it introduces to our notice a subject of such magnitude and importance, embracing such a variety of matters for serious consideration and discussion, that it was difficult in the few words and sentences contained in an evening's address, or even in a paper of the length of Captain Colomb's, to convey any comprehensive scheme or policy which would prove available or suitable to the whole of Her Majesty's Colonies. Leaving the great territory of India out of the question, which cannot be considered in the light of a Colony at all, but is a portion of the Asiatic Empire over which our Queen, as Empress, rules by right of conquest and by military occupation, we come to a variety of British Colonial possessions extending over every part of the world—in every sea and in every clime—any general measures to be adopted for their defence and protection in time of war, either by their own inhabitants or by the Imperial Government, would fail to be suitable for the whole of them, for what might be applicable to one Colony would not be so to another, and it must be regulated by circumstances and conditions. The West India Islands being sugar plantations, and from their limited size and large negro populations, make it requisite their forts shall be garrisoned by Imperial troops, while their protection from capture must chiefly depend upon the naval supremacy of Great Britain; the Canadian and Cape Colonies, situated on great continents and forming a portion of them—in one instance having a powerful nation as their neighbours, and in the other troublesome native populations—they require not only military and naval assistance from the Imperial Government, but also some extensive system of organisation of their own peoples in the form of

military or police forces for the protection of their frontiers and borders. In alluding to the Australian Colonies situated on the other side of the earth, away from English politics and European complications, it was a subject of great interest and importance to himself. As an Australian colonist of some thirty-five years' experience—never forgetting that he was an Englishman—he did not fear to express that Australia, the land of his adoption, was of more consequence to him than even the land of his birth. He had read with much attention Captain Colomb's remarks in reference to the Australian Colonies, and, while not altogether agreeing with his opinions and surmises, he was fully alive to their great danger in the event of war; and he might state, for many years past himself and many of his friends had felt much anxiety respecting the very defenceless condition of the Australian Colonies. There was much to blame from the supineness as well as the ignorance of the colonists as to what was required for their defence. There was neglect on the part of the Colonial Legislatures, and, let the truth be spoken, there was much also on the part of the Imperial Government. A very serious responsibility rests somewhere when we investigate how little has been done by the Australian colonists themselves for the defence of their country, and how little preparation for their protection by the Imperial Government. That the Australian colonists are as loyal as the people of England he knew to be a fact, and for the protection of their country are ready to spend their money, or, if necessary, spill their blood; but this question had never been impressed upon them in the serious manner it ought to have been by the Imperial Government. Some few years ago every British soldier was withdrawn from the Australian Colonies, and since that time some moves in the right direction have been made by the Colonial Governments. New South Wales had built fine forts for the protection of Sydney harbour; Victoria had purchased a monitor for the defence of Melbourne waters; there had been some importation of war material and ammunition, as well as the enrolment of volunteer corps; but he regretted to admit that, under all considerations, notwithstanding these preparations, the Australian Colonies were practically defenceless. Forts, guns, and ships without efficient and experienced officers and trained and disciplined men to work and man them, were worse than useless, for they only offer valuable prizes to an enterprising enemy. The Australian colonists, he believed, placed too much reliance on the British navy to defend their coasts and protect their harbours; and when it is considered that the whole of the shipping in the Australian ports and harbours engaged

in conducting the trade and commerce of Great Britain are the property of British merchants, there are reasonable grounds to expect some protection. He must maintain that any calculations made for the defence and protection of the Australian Colonies must always be based upon the assumption of the naval supremacy of Great Britain. Whatever might be said to the contrary, he believed in that supremacy, and it must be admitted and maintained at any cost, or farewell to British greatness and British Colonial Empire. Under such circumstances, he did not feel alarmed at that portion of Captain Colomb's paper which alluded to the facilities possessed by the United States or by Russia in the North Pacific, in cases of war, being able to transport a complete corps of 5,000 men to the shores of Australia for the capture of some of their ports and towns. The magnitude of the preparations required for such an expedition, with attendant transports and convoys, could hardly escape the attention of the British authorities or the vigilance of their naval officers. And again, supposing such a force to escape the British cruisers and to effect a landing on the coast of Australia, it is to be assumed that, not being able to command the seaboard for obtaining the requisite supplies, such an expedition must result in failure. But the great danger to be apprehended to Australia is from the visit of a hostile fleet or squadron, which, having for a time a superior force, might make a raid on the coasts, enter some of the harbours, destroy the shipping, and probably place some of the towns under embargo, and, having exacted payment in gold, promptly take their departure. That such is possible, and in the event of war probable, there can be but little doubt. When it is investigated that these valuable gold Colonies of Australia, which have done more to add to Great Britain's commercial wealth and progress during the last twenty-five years than any other portion of Her Majesty's dominions, are simply treated by the Imperial Government as a naval station for a commodore with half a dozen comparatively small wooden ships of war for their protection, there is cause for alarm. One single ironclad would put the whole of them at defiance, and command the coasts. In order to give some confirmation to this statement, he would mention an incident that came under his notice during the late war that took place between France and Germany. When that war commenced there was much alarm and excitement in Australia, and more particularly so in the Colony of Victoria. At that period there was no direct telegraphic communication between Australia and England, and the news by the English mailships arrived but once a month. He had the honour of being commissioned and delegated by the Government of

the Colony of Victoria to proceed to Point de Galle, in the island of Ceylon, and there to place himself in direct telegraph connection with the agent of the Colony in London, and, in the event of ascertaining that Great Britain was involved in hostilities, to immediately despatch a steam-vessel with the information to Melbourne. He found on arriving at Point de Galle, to his surprise, that a smart French ironclad ship of war had some few days previous to his arrival called there for a supply of coal, having left France soon after the declaration of war against Germany, and rapidly steamed out through the Suez Canal. When taking her departure from Ceylon the officer in command had reported that the ship was *en route* for Saigon, the French Colony in the China seas. The sudden reverses suffered by the French army soon terminated the war, and after about four weeks' residence in Ceylon he returned to Australia, and, to his surprise, found this French ironclad ship of war there. She had been to Western Australia, and at King George's Sound, and there her commander, being able to hear from the mail steamer the misfortunes to the French arms, had come to Melbourne. Now it is a question—what brought that French ironclad into Australian waters at that particular time? It was not necessary for him to solve that question, but he would suggest that at the outbreak of that war between France and Germany there were some Belgium complications of a very alarming character. But what was then the position of Australia, supposing that French ironclad ship of war to have been hostile? The mail steamer from Melbourne to England, which generally has on board from half to three-quarters of a million of gold, would have been the first prize at King George's Sound; there being no naval force fit to contend with this ship, she could have entered Port Phillip, destroyed the shipping in Hobson's Bay, and put the town of Melbourne under embargo, for at that period the harbour was defenceless, the Victorian monitor not having arrived. It is unpleasant to contemplate, but little has been done even since that time to alter this defenceless state of the Colonies. He hoped that a Royal Commission would be appointed, which would give the Imperial Government the information they required for the protection of the Colonies, and, at the same time, enlighten the colonists what was their duty to do for these defences. He admired the feelings expressed in the latter portion of Captain Colomb's paper, that it was the duty of all Englishmen to act together to advance shoulder to shoulder for the defence of the Empire.

Colonel Alcock wished to say something upon the general subject, or, as Captain Colomb might put it, the subject as a whole,

and he rather thought from what had fallen from the last two speakers with reference to the Colonies being under the authority of the Queen, and at the same time the loyalty of the Colonies and their defenceless state—he rather thought he might be excused for making one observation upon the general subject, and that observation was, that in whichever way they turned the subject of Imperial and Colonial responsibilities in times of war, the result would be confederation of the Anglo-Saxon race. (Hear, hear.) If they did not bring it to that result they had not a definite state; and he found that the *Times*, perhaps some two years ago, had said: “Ideas have a way of fulfilling themselves, and history becomes the development of well-instituted principles.” That was upon this very subject of confederation: therefore, he said, confederation of the Anglo-Saxon race ought certainly to be the subject; and if he might be allowed without taking up the time, which could not be spared, he could prove that the prevailing idea in the whole of Europe was that of nationality of language and race. It was a fact, and he quoted, for instance, the subversive events which occurred in 1866, followed by the Franco-German war in 1870. What was the effect? Why a military movement, military occupation, and a desire of change, of altering the geographical distribution of countries with the ostensible object of nationalities, as was seen in Germany, France, Italy, and Russia. And that was not the only fact in proof of passing events bringing up the standard of nationality. After the great wars of the Empire, social subjects began to create a movement among the people, and that gave rise to the cosmopolitan revolutionary movement in 1848 which swept over Europe. And what had been the result of that on the Continent? Why, it had been that the power of the rulers was coerced by the people, and that the power of the people had been coerced and directed by secret societies. Such had been the case in France and Italy, and it was the case beyond everything at that moment in Russia. In speaking of secret societies he was talking of the Panslavist communities, worked by the Omladina, and other secret societies operating in the Russian Empire with the ostensible plea of Nationalism; Panslavism is Pan-Russianism, therefore his conclusion was that, if the real and impulsive idea throughout Europe was nationality, the general idea with that meeting ought to be nationality likewise—that it ought to be a universal confederation of the Anglo-Saxon race. Unless there was that confederation there would be no cohesion, and many of the great things that had been done would have been done in vain; all the efforts of statesmen and civilians, the chivalry of military services, the self-devotion

and courage of the explorers, or the sacrifice of those whose lives have been forfeited to their humane and civilising work, would close a brilliant page in history, and they would have to begin one of the most gloomy cast. He did not think that was likely to be the case, for he knew the spirit of the nation, if roused in time, would not give way; but the public mind, which was always pre-occupied by feelings of great interest and great events, would not take an interest in intricate and separate details unless they knew the grand object upon which those details were based, and, moreover, unless they were convinced of the absolute necessity of that great object being entertained. When the great change, now plainly in progress, becomes too obvious in its effects to be any longer overlooked, we shall be all of the same mind, and then will the Anglo-Saxon race put forth their strength to protect themselves, their institutions, and their influence upon the progress of civilisation in the world. (Cheers.)

Major MONCRIEFF was not prepared to make any remarks, as he did not expect to be called on to do so; but as they had been good enough to ask him to address the meeting he begged to say that if the Colonial Empire, our great Colonial Empire, was to be maintained, a certain supremacy at sea was required. To keep this supremacy it was, in these days of steam navies, absolutely necessary to secure coaling stations and strategic harbours in different parts of the world. Whatever portion of an Imperial scheme of defence might be allotted to the Colonies, he considered that, at any rate, the formation and protection of strategic harbours and coaling stations would naturally devolve on the Imperial Government. Their protection, however, had hitherto been entirely neglected. He therefore thought that any discussion as to what share of the Imperial Defences should fall on one party or another, ought not to be allowed to interfere with or retard immediate action to remove this almost incredible flaw in our present organisation for defence. When Parliament—which gives more attention to torrents of oratory upon party questions than to great Imperial subjects, such as the one raised by Captain Colomb—can be induced to take up this subject, it will probably be considered from the financial point of view. He had very little hesitation in saying that when that is done the extravagance of leaning entirely on the Navy for the protection of its own coaling stations will be demonstrated: an extravagance the greater because what is paid for is not obtained. To perform this work of protection by ships alone, without other defences, and provide a Navy sufficient not only for the defence of our harbours of refuge, strategic harbours,

and coaling stations, but also for the protection of British commerce in time of war, is next thing to impossible. It is in this manner, however, that we now attempt to meet the case. A comparison between the expense of making and maintaining fortifications on the one hand, and ships on the other, estimated gun for gun, in the light of the facts brought forward by Captain Colomb, will settle this part of the question conclusively. It is to be hoped that when a decision is arrived at as to which strategic positions and coaling stations are required for the fleet, that also a decision will be taken without delay to arm these harbours and stations. He could scarcely pass the question of coaling stations and strategic harbours without alluding to a proposition in Captain Colomb's admirable paper very important in relation to this subject, namely, the establishment of a dockyard at the Antipodes. While we had to send our ships of war half round the world to be repaired or refitted, they saw that Russia had every provision for her Navy comparatively near some of our important possessions in the Pacific. Russia also had the same provision in the Baltic, opposite our own shores. Why should we not, in the same way, have proper means of refitting our vessels of war in Australia? The fact is, that in the event of war the British fleet, instead of being free to act against the enemy in defence of our commerce, would have enough to do in protecting those stations and harbours vital to its own existence on distant seas.

Mr. J. A. YouL, C.M.G., observed with regard to the establishment of a dockyard at the Antipodes, he had just been reminded by his friend Captain Gilmore, that at the present moment, both at Sydney and Melbourne, there were docks at which any ship of the Royal Navy could be completely fitted out, except as regarded guns; and the largest ironclad in the British Navy could be docked at Melbourne.

The CHAIRMAN asked if he meant that any ironclad could be docked there?

Captain GILMORE replied that there was a dockyard built there which cost £320,000 to the Government.

The CHAIRMAN asked how it was maintained, and if there was a proper staff?

Captain GILMORE replied in the affirmative; adding that it was maintained by a dockyard belonging to the Government at Sydney, and when Prince Alfred visited Sydney in the *Galatea* his ship was docked there.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that that showed the colonists thoroughly appreciated the necessity for such.

Colonel CROSSMAN, R.E., C.M.G., said he had visited many parts of the British Empire, and he therefore requested to be allowed to make a few observations on this important subject. He objected to the title of the very able paper, "Imperial and Colonial Responsibilities in War;" he thought it was a misnomer, and that Imperial and Colonial responsibilities were the same. (Hear, hear.) It ought rather to have been, he suggested, "The Duties in War of the British Empire." They ought to be divided between the Home Government and the Colonial Government; the former generally had looked well after the defence of our home shores, while the defence of our Colonial possessions had been most sadly neglected. He thought this question might be placed under two heads—that was, first, the Imperial responsibility for the naval defence of the strategic points; and, second, the defence which the colonists can provide for themselves, or what should be done by the colonists to resist actual invasion, and what works ought to be built by the Imperial Government for the defence of naval coaling stations and strategic points on the main lines of maritime communication. First, as regards naval defence. Looking at that map and seeing those bright red spots, the marks of British dominion, he took the furthest, say those in the Pacific Ocean and the Chinese and Indian seas. The first Colony they came to there was Hong Kong, an important place, not only as regarded the immense amount of trade which is done between Great Britain and the two countries of China and Japan, but also the large increase of trade between Australia and those countries; not only also for trade but as an outlying post for our naval power in the North Pacific, and probably more important now since, as Captain Colomb had pointed out, the Russians were advancing down the Gulf of Saghalin to Vladivostock. He was sure ere long they would find the Russians would establish themselves in that more important island of Yezo, the southern port of which, Hakodati, would give them a more important strategic point than almost any other place. He might say he wished to make no reference to Russia or any other nation. We must not take for granted that we are going to war at once, but the best of friends would quarrel sometimes, and we ought to be prepared for whatever might occur. Though Hong Kong was a most important place, it was not defended except by the Navy, and he might say that the duty of the Navy was rather to carry the war into the enemy's country than to remain stationary at any place in order to keep the enemy out

of it. (Hear, hear.) Therefore he said that the land defences placed at any of those ports doubled the strength of the Navy. Next look at Singapore, commanding the Straits of Malacca—there, there were no defences; Trincomalee and Point de Galle, also defenceless; the Mauritius was to some extent defended; but those points on the Eastern Seas were the four places or strategic points which he thought we ought to hold, because they commanded the main lines of the water communication between our Australian Colonies and our Eastern possessions, and between them and the Suez Canal. Perhaps they might say that Singapore was a part of our Indian territory. Coming down from there to the south-east, they came to the Australian Colonies. Now one speaker that night had rather hinted that King George's Sound was not an important point, but he was stationed there for some two or three years some twenty-five years ago, and he did not agree with him; he thought it was a most important strategic point, situated as it was near the stormy Cape Leuwin. In fact, from Freemantle round by Adelaide to Port Phillip, indeed from the North-West Cape round to Port Phillip, there was not a single good harbour on the coast of Australia. Sir Richard Torrens, the other night, pointed out the importance of King George's Sound; he said that the small harbour had a long entrance of a mile and a quarter long, but it was not more than 300 or 400 yards wide; but the inner harbour itself, and some of the bays in the outer harbour, can be most easily defended. He might mention an anecdote: before Western Australia itself was colonised, in 1830, King George's Sound was taken possession of by the English, because they learnt in Australia that the French were there surveying, and they immediately sent a man-of-war round to take possession of it. But he considered it a most important place, for it commanded the whole line of communication from the Colonies of Australia round the Cape of Good Hope, and to the Suez Canal. Of Sydney and Melbourne he would not speak; they were large centres of trade and commerce, very large and thriving cities, and he was glad to see that a distinguished friend of his and brother officer had been asked by the Legislature of those Colonies to go out there to advise them as regarded the defences of their coast, and he only hoped they would follow his advice. (Hear, hear.) He had never been to Sydney himself, but, hearing so much said at the last meeting about the importance of that part of the world where our ships could be repaired, he was rather astonished that there should not be a dockyard where ships of war could be repaired without going to the expense of having special docks constructed; and he was glad

to hear this evening that such was not the case. Going across the Pacific, Fiji, the latest of our annexations—or rather, our latest but one—certainly it was a very important position with reference to American ports in California; and going then further across the Pacific they came to Esquimault; he was sure that there needed no words of his to show how important that place was. There ought to be there an establishment or a naval dockyard where ships could go if necessary, and this establishment should be properly fortified; and in connection with it, as Captain Colomb pointed out, there was no doubt that the addition of a railway from Canada would be most important; and he might mention now that, although a telegraph wire between Halifax and that place ran through part of the North American territory, still it would be better, in case anything might arise, that any telegraph between two such places should be in our own possession. He knew a case in point: he was out in Canada in 1862, at the time when the troops were going across from Halifax, and the whole of the telegrams passed through the hands of American manipulators, and might have been known to the American Government. Halifax, they all knew, had been carefully looked after by the Home Government, not only as a great coaling place in the North American Ocean, but a port where troops might be thrown into Canada if they should ever be wanted. From Halifax they came to the West Indies, and beyond Bermuda they had no place there regularly fortified. Striking across to Ascension and St. Helena, Ascension was a naval port, and though in his opinion St. Helena did not possess the same importance as was attached to it in the paper, because ships did not come down in such numbers as they used to do, and those that did so did not coal there; still we do require as a coaling station, and for operations in connection with the West Coast of Africa, that one of those places should be occupied. Further south, we come to Capetown and Simon's Bay. At the latter we have a small naval establishment, not yet fortified; at Capetown the works are obsolete: here a graving dock is being constructed, with which the Navy have nothing to do, but which, when finished, might be utilised for naval purposes. It was a pity, but it could not be helped, that those two places should be so short a distance apart, and should require separate fortifications.

The only other place was round the Falkland Islands, where, situated as these islands are on the line of communications round Cape Horn, there ought to be a secure coaling station: Port Stanley perhaps affords the best position. He had not mentioned the fortresses in the Mediterranean, such as Gibraltar and Malta,

which of course had always been looked after, and had been made as strong as science well could make them ; but leaving out those, he thought he might be allowed to recapitulate the thirteen or fourteen different places that he had named. In the Indian and China Seas, Mauritius partly fortified, Trincomalee and Singapore not fortified, Hong Kong defenceless. In Australia, King George's Sound without a gun. As regards Sydney, the defence of that place was rather a question for the Provincial Legislature than for the Imperial Government, and that Legislature, as well as those of the other great Australian Colonies, had shown that they were alive to their responsibilities. In the Pacific, Fiji and Esquimault not fortified. In the North Atlantic, Halifax and Bermuda are fortified. In the West Indies, no fortified place, though either Jamaica or Antigua, perhaps both, ought to be. St. Helena is fortified, but the Falklands and Simon's Bay are not. If, as every man in this room will admit, and he believed ninety-nine Englishmen out of a hundred do now admit, that the importance of this great Empire does not depend entirely upon the two small islands in the Northern Ocean, but does to a very great extent depend on the existence of those large and growing communities sprung from these islands, and planted under the flag of England beyond the seas, then, as without her Colonies Great Britain could not retain the proud position she now holds, surely it was the duty of the Imperial Government to see to the safety of those coaling stations and strategic points, the loss of which would not only cut off all the main lines of communication on the high seas between the mother-country and the outlying portions of the Empire, but would also render our being useless, and destroy our supremacy on the ocean. It was their duty to see that those places were perfectly and properly secured against attacks from an enemy. He had no reason for saying so, but he should imagine if they examined the records of the War Office that they would find the most elaborate plans drawn out for the defence of all those places ; indeed, he might say that the question of King George's Sound was not new, for he knew that the late Sir John Burgoyne, twenty years ago, had pointed out the necessity of that port as a strategic point. If the necessity of protecting these places has been recognised, the question arose, why it had not been done ? The answer is a simple one, the want of money. He believed that if this question were brought before the Government as it ought to be ; if the members of the Legislature, whom they must all imagine to be intelligent and reasonable men, could be led to see the actual necessity for the work, that they would be inclined to

adopt it ; and it only required that the matter should be properly brought before the public, and he was glad to say that the Royal Colonial Institute had taken the initiative in doing so. What the expense might be he could not say; it might be one or two millions, but, whether it amounted to two, or even to three millions, expense ought not to stand in the way of so important a national work. This is not the place to go into details of defensive works, but his own opinion was that a combination of small heavily-armed batteries and swift torpedo-boats would probably be the best and most economical to adopt. He did not think that the expense ought to exceed two millions sterling, and what, he asked, was that when they considered the value of the Colonies, and as those works would not be for a day, but for all time, he thought they ought to be paid for by money raised by loan, in the same way that the works for home defences had been. Really he thought they were doing a great deal for posterity if they could do this work ; and if it was commenced, let it be done off-hand ; it was no use trifling about it for many years ; let them get the money at once and do the work. As to the question of manning these works, he believed, that if the Home Government or the Imperial Parliament paid the money for these works, that they had a fair right to call upon the Colonial Governments to assist in the maintenance of those works, and also to pay their quota towards the expense of the men to man them. As was said by a gentleman that night very properly, various Colonies come under various conditions, and he would take the first-named, Hong Kong: there are others similarly situated, such as Singapore and some of the West India Islands, where there were a large number of merchants and merchant class without any working white population otherwise than the poor mercantile classes. We could not expect them to raise men to man the forts, and, as they do at Hong Kong, pay a certain military contribution. They might pay towards the expense of this work. Hong Kong now pays £20,000 a year. Singapore, he thought, also paid a contribution, so did Ceylon, but whether the Mauritius did he did not know, or the islands in the West Indies. That, he imagined, was a course that might be adopted after the works had been constructed ; the Colonies, so far as their revenues will allow, ought to pay the cost of the maintenance and their quota towards the cost of troops. St. Helena and the Falkland Islands might be also included ; but when we come to South Australia and the Dominion of Canada, matters were different there. In the Dominion of Canada, in which he had served some time, he thought too much could not be said of the manner in

which they had risen to the responsibility of the necessity to protect their own borders. They found that many pages of the "Army List" were filled up with names of officers of the Canadian militia, and although perhaps in that country there might be changes of Legislature from time to time, which might militate against this military force being carried to the perfection which one would like to see, still he was sure it was a proud thing for the Anglo-Saxon race to know that the Dominion of Canada had troops. (Hear, hear.) In South Africa he also knew they were anxious to know what their duties were; perhaps brought to an acknowledgment of those duties from the fact that on their borders they had a brave and numerous body of natives; but still they saw by the last advices that they had had a Commission to inquire into the best means of raising Colonial defences against those natives. In Australia matters were different; they had got natives, certainly, but those they need not care about; they are but little affected by European war. Still he hoped that, as the population increased and became more concentrated, they might follow the example of their fellow-citizens in the Canadian Provinces, and raise such a militia as should be required. Captain Colomb mentioned the disadvantage of forces being extremely local, and noticed the fact that troops might be sent from South Australia or from New South Wales to protect King George's Sound; but that was a thing they could not expect for many years; but, when the time did come, he was sure, when Australia became peopled as the North American Provinces were, that the provincial forces would be ready to proceed to drive out any enemy that for a time might have taken possession of St. George's Sound; as the provincial forces of New England, when that country was still a British Colony, went from their own homes, and in the last century took Louisburg, in New Brunswick, from the French. To come to later days, the services of the provincial forces in New Zealand against the Maories on to do their duty oint in connection elegraph communi- had already men- e line was partly in tter than having no stance, at the Cape ery chance of a war as no possibility of er to Madeira. He en this country and

the outlying portions of the Empire should be most carefully seen after. In conclusion, he thought it was the duty of the Imperial Government to see that the coaling stations and strategic points were all fortified, and he thought in all justness and fairness they might call then upon the Colonies to do their duty as regards raising men locally ; or, if that were not possible, in paying such a military contribution as their finances would allow. He was sure from his own experience of them that the colonists themselves would be the first to respond to any fair and just call made upon them for that purpose. (Great cheering.)

Mr. STRANGWAYS explained that he had no intention whatever to set up his opinion against that of professional men on questions of strategy ; but when King George's Sound was first occupied in 1831, the old system of sailing was in force from England to Australia, and they took six months on the passage. They used to call at the Cape and make the land near King George's Sound ; but of late years, since the first sailing of clipper ships, the great circle is about 44 south, in longitude 75 degrees, bringing them down half-way between those islands [indicating them]. A telegraph line was in course of construction from Adelaide to King George's Sound, and is expected to be complete in the ensuing month of June.

Colonel CROSSMANN remarked that he looked upon King George's Sound as a port from which, if in an enemy's hands, their cruisers could cut off the line of communication with the Australian Colonies.

Captain BEDFORD PIM, M.P., desired in the first place to thank Captain Colomb for the very admirable paper ; he had listened to every word uttered with great satisfaction, and the paper had impressed him in the strongest manner. It bristled with facts, no doubt about that, but as he claimed to be a practical man he would stick to one point only of this paper, and that was as to Vancouver's Island and the Pacific. He had served for six years on the Pacific station, and he thought, from Cape Horn up to Behrend's Straits, he knew every part, and especially Vancouver's Island, at which he was employed for some time surveying. As a practical illustration of the utterly defenceless condition in which that part of the Empire was placed at that moment, he would narrate to the meeting the exact position in which we stood. At Vancouver's Island our whole naval supplies of shell, shot, coals, and every single thing required for the Pacific squadron, was stored ; but there was not a single gun in position. Then our squadron there was at the present moment most inefficient. There was the *Shah*, as flagship, which

they might call a ship if they liked, but he could not apply that appellation to her. Then there were the *Amethyst*, the *Fantome*, the *Opal*, always breaking down. Then there were three small gun-vessels besides—total, seven; while at that moment in the neighbourhood of San Francisco there were eleven Russian ships. He had lived in St. Petersburg and Siberia, and had fought the Russians, and sailed half over the world with them, and no one could deny that they were a fine set of fellows. However, there was the fact the Russians had eleven ships at San Francisco, or in the immediate neighbourhood of that port, and he did not hesitate to say for one moment that his brother officers on board those seven ships he had indicated would show good fight if necessary; but what could they do against eleven well-armed Russian ships with the seven wretched vessels he had described? He would just point out what the Russian squadron could do at Vancouver's Island. They could go through the Straits up to Esquimaux or Victoria, land their boats' crews, and burn every English store they found there. There was not the slightest difficulty in doing that; but yet what was the state of the place at this moment? Why, it was in an utterly defenceless position. Captain Colomb deserved the greatest credit for stating that not a moment should be lost in remedying the grave and serious condition of affairs on the Pacific station. Just at the moment when we wanted a ship there, the *Repulse* had been recalled. It was astonishing how blindly we were going on at home. He looked upon the colonist with great pride; and more than that, he considered that the colonist who went out to create a new country deserved the greatest possible encouragement—much more, indeed, than if he remained at home. He was proud of our colonials, of the friends he had made in the Colonies; but it was incomprehensible to him how we could allow them to continue in the present defenceless condition, so ably exposed by Captain Colomb. He did not hesitate to say for one single moment that if Russia—and he submitted his own opinion—that if Russia declared war against us, and he believed she would do so eventually, he would not be in the boots of the unfortunate colonists in Vancouver's Island for any amount. As to our wretched ships there, of course the officer in command of the Russian squadron would take them in detail; they would not attempt to go down and attack them squadron against squadron, they would go down the coast step by step: first the ships off the Californian coast, then the ships say, at Panama, then at Callao and Valparaiso, and so on, before they even knew that war was declared. To capture or destroy these ships would

be an easy matter, and every merchant ship flying the English flag that came in their way would fall a victim also. He could not understand the incomprehensible stupidity of the British Government. Most disastrous events might soon occur, and he defied anyone acquainted with the British Navy to contradict one single word he had said. The last speaker knew very well how powerless members of the British Parliament were to reform this matter. He had not failed in his place in Parliament to point out in his humble way the extreme danger we were in, and to suggest a remedy; but such was the apathy of the Government that he might just as well have held his tongue. He would now appeal to something which closely touched everybody present. Now they had to be fed in this country, and the great danger they run at that moment was in the risk of the grain supplies being cut off. Why were those eleven Russian ships sent at this moment to San Francisco? Why were they there? To fight the Turks? or were they to capture Turkish merchant ships? It was quite clear they were not there to do anything of the sort; but in the event of England in any manner or shape interfering with the acquisitions that Russia intended, and was already making, in Asia. If England said, We do not care to have our line to India threatened, you must not make any acquisitions in Asia; does anyone in his senses suppose for one moment that the Russians would go? No, not a bit of it. They were going to stop there, and then England must interfere. What would Russia do? Why, declare war; and she would let her squadron know in San Francisco, and before we could afford the least assistance she would have laid the Vancouver settlement in ashes, destroyed or captured our miserable squadron, and prevented our merchant shipping coming to England with the grain supply, upon which we depended for our life: it must not be forgotten that those ships brought about forty-four per cent. of the bread we eat. He would carry the meeting back to the commencement of this century, 1800, when they had cultivated land capable of sustaining all the population in food; but we had now thirty-three millions of inhabitants to sustain, and the cultivated land was now less than then. During the American war Captain Semmes destroyed with the *Alabama*, 66 ships and 46,000 tons, and there were now eleven *Alabamas* at San Francisco, not ships like ours, not ironclads which could hardly float, and could not sail, but real vessels that will keep to sea under sail for six months; that is what the Russian ships were at this moment. Imagine those eleven ships doing their will amongst our merchant ships. He asked if that meeting knew how many grain ships there were coming every

year from San Francisco. There were no less than 2,000 ships, manned on an average by 40,000 men, bringing grain from San Francisco alone. He asked them to conceive the position of affairs with those Russian ships amongst these helpless ships. Conceive only one grain ship taken, just imagine the consternation that would ensue upon the news being telegraphed to the London Corn Exchange; what would be the price of bread? Why, it would be at least half a crown a loaf. Now he happened to be a magistrate of Middlesex, and he could tell them there were about 200,000 adults commonly called the dangerous classes at this moment, ready for any mischief. It was something dreadful to think of. Did they mean to tell him those people could be kept down when they had starvation staring them in the face? He was not much given to being frightened, he had had six bullets through him in one action alone; but he could assure them that it frightened him when he thought of the fearful position we were in, owing to the supineness and incomprehensible conduct of the English Government during the last thirty years. It was disgraceful when they came to consider that this country, a country that had done more for Christianity, and more for Protestantism, and more for civilisation than all the rest of the world, reduced to such a position as this. He defied any gentleman to controvert one single word he had said. He only wished from the bottom of his heart they could do so. A friend behind him said, "Why don't you say this in the House of Commons?" Well, he had said so, but we had got at the head of the Admiralty an estimable country gentleman, no doubt, but a man too stout to move; they could not move him, and he could not make him understand the peril, which he (Captain Pim) had mentioned here as likely to occur, but there it was, staring them in the face. There was no doubt that the suggestions in Captain Colomb's paper ought to be attended to at once. He had done good service in bringing the subject forward, and as one of the founders, and a life member of the Royal Colonial Institute, he rejoiced that it had come before their Society, and anything he could do to further Captain Colomb's views he should be only too glad to do, not only in his place in Parliament but outside. He intended that night to have proposed a resolution: "That that meeting should agree to request his Grace the Duke of Manchester to go with a deputation to Lord Carnarvon, and lay the perilous state of our Colonial Empire before the Colonial Secretary;" but his honourable friend in the chair had told him that it was not exactly in accordance with the rules. Nevertheless, he hoped that Captain Colomb would take energetic steps to agitate this all-

important question; he thought he had commenced in the most admirable way, and he hoped he would continue, and bring the matter prominently before the minds of his countrymen, and he was satisfied no man would then act in a more patriotic manner for the good of his countrymen than his gallant friend, if he pursued that course. (Great cheers.)

Mr. LABILLIERE said he hoped that those profoundly practical people who had such a great objection to discussing mere theories of Colonial and Imperial organisation would be satisfied with the paper which Captain Colomb had presented to them; but he thought they would find that those theories to which objection was raised were most intimately associated with the very practical question which was before them that evening. General MacDougall had told them that the whole question involved in the paper resolved itself into that of the Federation of the Empire. The gallant general had pointed out that the difficulty in carrying out the plans which the paper proposed was, that they must tax the people of the whole Empire for the purpose of raising a revenue, and that of course they could not do without giving them representation. He was not going to dwell upon that question further than to say that some people who boasted very much of being practical, might show themselves so with regard to Imperial defence and organisation, only by closing the stable door after the steed had been stolen. One portion of the paper, with which he was more particularly struck, was that in which allusion was made to the question of local defences. The subject was referred to at considerable length, and especially illustrated by reference to the nature of the defences existing at Sydney. Now he held in his hand an extract from one of the New South Wales papers, which exactly bore out the view urged by Captain Colomb. In a review of his (Mr. Labilliere's) paper on "The Permanent Unity of the Empire," which he had had the honour to read at that Institute, the *Border Post* of New South Wales quoted the following extracts from what he had written: "It must obviously be much more economical in the future for England and the Colonies to contribute fair proportions to the defences of an united Empire, than for each separately to maintain its own. The ships—though for years of little account as the navies of independent states—which the different groups of Colonies could contribute to that maritime force which would be the chief strength of the Empire, would, acting together, and with the fleets of England, make up a mighty and irresistible navy, with which we should be able to keep the oceans of the world free for our commerce and to prescribe peace

upon them." Having expressed approval of this argument the reviewer exclaims: "Only fancy a fleet of war-ships of the various Colonies of the Empire sweeping all before them on the highways of the ocean! Such, indeed, would be real protection from foreign aggression, for from internal troubles we have nothing to fear. During the present session of the Parliament of New South Wales, sums amounting in the aggregate to upwards of £100,000 have been voted for the pay and warlike stores for the standing army of that Colony—an army which, though it musters one hundred and one men, can only, if required, bring thirty men to the battle-field to repel the forces of an invading army. This annual expenditure is absolutely thrown away, but if devoted as pointed out by Mr. Labilliere, then indeed it would be spent wisely, and we should enjoy greater security." In fact, the system of local defences, if organised as Captain Colomb would have them, might be made infinitely more efficient. They would cost the Colonies much less than they did at present, and, added to the strength which the mother-country was able to throw into the general defences, would greatly contribute to the security of all parts of the Empire. But it appeared to him that the danger next to, if not greater than, that of certain positions in the Empire being swooped down upon by our enemies in time of war, was the most serious evil which we should suffer from the capture of our trading vessels in the various oceans. He would not enter into the consideration of the question with regard to that point upon which he differed from Captain Colomb—the rights of capture of belligerents—because that was not the time to do so. Nevertheless he desired to call attention to the very terrible consequences which would be likely to ensue. Some of those consequences had been pointed out by Captain Bedford Pim, but there was no doubt whatever that at the present time the number of British vessels which would be captured in all parts of the world in the event of our being at war with any naval power would be vastly greater, not only in the aggregate, but also in proportion to anything of the kind which had ever happened in any previous maritime war. He would quote a short extract from a speech made by Sir William Harcourt in the present session of Parliament, on the 2nd of March: "I suppose," said Sir William Harcourt, "England was never more mistress of the sea—I might almost say mistress of the world—than during the great administration of Lord Chatham, who made the proud boast that no cannon could be fired in Europe without his leave. At that period we had humbled France, and had almost the whole of Europe at our feet. At that time, when there was not a hostile

navy to be seen upon the sea, Smollett describes what happened. First, he speaks of the prodigious number of the English navy; they had 120 ships of the line, besides frigates, fireships, tenders, &c.; and then he says that, notwithstanding these enormous and powerful armaments, the enemies managed in one year, from March 1st to June 10th, to secure as prizes more than 200 vessels belonging to Great Britain and Ireland. Then he goes on: 'The whole number of British ships taken by them from June 1st in 1756 to June 1st in the present year (that was over a period of four years) amounted to 2,589 vessels.' (Hear, hear.) Now that was the state of English commerce when England was absolutely mistress of the sea."

Mr. STRANGWAYS asked how many vessels the English captured at that time?

Mr. LABILLIERE replied that he did not think that question had anything to do with this. The question was as to our being losers, as we undoubtedly should be, in time of war; and the greater the number of our trading ships and the fewer the number of those of our enemy, the greater suffering we should endure, whereas we should not be able to make him suffer in a similar degree. His cruisers might go about the ocean picking up our ships in every sea, and if he had no trading vessels, or very few, for us to take, we should be unable to inflict upon him any serious damage in the same way. There was no doubt whatever that all that was required with regard to the solution of this question of Imperial defence was, that it should be fairly brought before the public of the Empire. He thought it was well that there should be a certain amount of panic occasionally created upon such subjects as these; for we are such an intensely practical nation, that unless proof can be given that there is some immediate danger, there is very little hope of getting anything done to improve our condition. He believed that some of the most important steps which had ever been taken to improve the defences of this country had been occasioned by panics, the grounds for which had been more or less real or imaginary. With regard to the question of organising the unity of the Empire and its defence, he believed that nothing would tend more to that than a great war. In the correspondence which took place recently between his friend Mr. Young and an opponent, in the columns of *The Colonies*, "Colonus" admitted that though he believed Imperial confederation was out of the question, it was more likely to be brought about by a war than in any other way. Well, it was to be hoped that a war was not going to arise. (Hear, hear.) He trusted we might escape the present

war, and that the lesson which we were now learning from the present panic, for which there was more or less foundation—(cries of “no, no”)—he admitted that perhaps he was wrong in using the word “panic,” but he would say from the serious apprehensions, for which there was a very considerable amount of just ground; he hoped that the experience we were learning from these would cause us to improve the opportunity, and that if we should happily escape war this time, whenever the danger of it should again arise we should be found with our defences in all parts of the world so thoroughly organised, that we might sit quietly down and confidently meet any future war which may present itself to us. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. P. CAPEL HANBURY regarded the matter from a commercial point of view. When he was in the Australian Colonies he visited Sydney and Melbourne, and saw the great commercial activity going on there, and also noticed the want of defences—a want with which he could not help being very much struck. He noticed in Sydney, first of all, how full the harbour there was of ships, and Adelaide, where we get our finest grain from, and also Melbourne, where a large amount of wool comes from; and believing, as he did, that Sydney would eventually be the emporium of Eastern trade, he thought really something ought to be done at that place for purposes of defence. He could not help thinking that naval defences were more important than inland defences. He spoke very humbly on the subject, but he could not help feeling that if the great volunteer movement was more strongly taken up in Australia, and the militia system more extensively established, that it would be an excellent thing for Australia. It was seen as far as Canada was concerned some years ago that they had taken it up strongly, and how she was able at once to put an end to the Fenian raid. (Hear, hear.) He was quite sure Englishmen, as Captain Colomb had said, now that the time had come to think over the matter, would work shoulder to shoulder as inhabitants of the same great Empire, and that if they worked together, Shakespeare’s words would come true:—

“This England never did (nor never shall)
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror.
Come the three corners of the world in arms,
And we shall shock them: Nought shall make us rue,
If England to herself do prove but true.”

Mr. TRELAUNEY SAUNDERS said he was in perfect unanimity with every person who had spoken upon that occasion, as well upon the

part of the great lecturer, in the conclusion that however great the evils might be which he had so ably exposed, the remedy for those evils must be looked for in the organisation of the British Empire and the Colonies of the mother-country. (Hear, hear.) Now, upon that question, it was no use to go on talking, as that Institute had done, year after year, upon mere theories and principles. The question they wanted to get at was, the manner and the way of accomplishing that union. (Hear, hear.) No doubt, in attempting to approach such a question as that, they would have to touch on every topic, they would have to touch prejudices that were as old as our laws and as old as our ancestors, but, nevertheless, if we were serious about it, and if we were to bring about a general organisation of all those men who were proud to call themselves Englishmen—men who regard the Queen and acknowledge allegiance to their mother-country—and of the Possessions of the Crown; he declared if we wanted to approach that question seriously, we must be prepared at some time or other to have some of our prejudices touched, and some of our secret institutions touched, and, indeed, to be so modified as to meet the exigency of the occasion. He declared that the first business for them to find out was a receipt for the organisation that they wished to bring about, and that limit was found by confining it to those parts of our Colonial possessions that had attained the parliamentary representation. What was wanted was to bring about a union between all parts of this great monarchy that had attained to the parliamentary representation. What stood in the way, he said, was the present organisation of Imperial Parliament. (Hear, hear.) Now, that was not such an old-fashioned affair that they should be afraid of touching it up or tampering with it. He did not mean to say that the present Imperial Parliament had not done important work to this country, because it had in the highest degree contributed to the practical union of Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen, and it had done a great work, and a work he should be the last to desire to see destroyed or reduced. But they had a great wish to see one thing accomplished, which was to bring into that building Canadians and Australians—(hear, hear)—and South Africans also. But the question was, how were we to do that? He was not there to-night to argue out that question; he could merely attempt to throw out the suggestion and to give them something to think of. He would willingly avail himself of the opportunity of going further into it—and it deserved to be gone further into—but he was content that night in putting the case before them in its very worst aspect. They must consider how to find a common basis of

union for the Parliamentary units of the monarchy. Now, in all those cases, the Parliamentary units were units for local purposes, but in the Colonial case they were not units for local purposes, but for other and more important purposes, and, unfortunately, hence he had come to view the inaptitude of the present Parliament to perform the work it had to perform, so that it was impossible that it could perform any additional work upon it.

A GENTLEMAN rose to order, remarking that he believed the discussion was on Captain Colomb's paper, not on Imperial Confederation.

The CHAIRMAN said: I think I must say, that the gentleman who rose to order is perfectly right. You are going into the reorganisation of Parliament at a crisis when war is upon our shoulders, when you have got a paper to consider how we can best combine together for the defence of our Colonies and trade. But if you are going to begin matters about a change in the main constitution, I am afraid that you will disserve rather than unite us on the fortifications and defences, which are the immediate questions for the mother-country.

Mr. SAUNDERS replied, that he did not desire to say a word, but his answer was that if they wanted to get the Colonies to combine, they would only allow their money to be spent on the condition that they had a voice in spending it; and the question he wished to show them was, how that voice might be given them, and he wanted to point out that it is a very simple question if they would only face it. He remarked that, with the single exception of the United Kingdom, all the other Parliaments were for local purposes; that the whole Parliament at present was made up of local units, and had not the elements in it of an Imperial Parliament so far as the colonists were concerned.

The CHAIRMAN said: I am much obliged to you for throwing out that idea; but if anything would destroy the work we have to do it is a new Parliament, for we destroy the existing Parliament under the suggestion you make, and that is not fortification, but dissolution.

The Hon. GEORGE H. COX (N. S. Wales) stated that he laboured under considerable disadvantage, not being present at the reading of Captain Colomb's paper, or the discussion which ensued on the previous day. He was, however, fully alive to the great importance of the question, and begged to offer a few remarks, which would be confined to the Australian Colonies, he having little knowledge of the others. A slur, he thought, had been cast by previous speakers upon the apparent apathy of the Australian Colonies with regard to

self-defence. He thought they were scarcely open to the charge, when it was borne in mind that Victoria had spent a large sum of money in the purchase of a monitor, while the Parliament of New South Wales had voted large amounts for fortifications. But, latterly, they were discouraged in spending money upon these works, for after costly fortifications had been constructed under the guidance of a supposed competent engineer, the works were pronounced useless by another engineer who inspected them a few years afterwards. Still larger sums were voted, and still more extensive batteries were formed under his directions ; but they were not at all certain when another eminent man, who is shortly expected in Sydney, arrives, that he will not condemn the whole of the works as useless. The Colonies, he believed, would gladly vote the money were they sure that it would be judiciously expended, but that had hitherto been the difficulty. He thought that fortifications in the present state of warfare quite useless. But presuming that they had efficient forts, with their mere handful of people they could not find men to man them. The Colonies had no desire to follow in the footsteps of some of the European nations, who were ruining themselves by keeping up enormous armaments. They in the Colonies, with their millions of acres unpeopled and their vast resources undeveloped, could not afford to lose the labour of a single individual by taking him from productive to unproductive works. He thought that the marvellous engines of destruction which modern science had discovered did away with the necessity of spending vast sums for defences. He knew the harbours of Port Phillip, Port Jackson, and Moreton Bay, and he believed that with a monitor stationed in mid channel (all the others being blocked up), and provided with an ample supply of torpedoes, together with people skilled in their use, they could bid defiance to the largest armaments which the most wealthy and powerful nations of Europe would be likely to send out against them. All that they could be expected to do, would be to protect their shipping and seaports ; and he thought that without any large outlay for fortifications, or the necessity of a great number of men to man them, the scheme he had suggested would render them as safe as though they were hundreds of miles up the country. With regard to our exports and imports, and in which English as well as Australians are interested, they might trust that, as long as they formed an integral part of the British dominions, the Imperial Government would think it necessary to protect their trade, and help them to convey produce to and from the Colonies, beyond the possibility of destruction from their enemies, wherever they might be. He did not wish it to be supposed

that he deprecated the cultivation of a martial spirit among the colonists; on the contrary, he would have every man capable of bearing arms taught the skilful use of those arms. He should like to see a nation of soldiers, but with this difference, that every soldier should maintain himself, and not be a burden upon the industrial portion of the community.

Lieutenant P. R. CHAMPION, R.M.L.I.: The wide and weighty subject that has been submitted to us this evening, and the exceedingly interesting as well as instructive manner in which that subject has been handled, demands of us, as it appears to be justly receiving, an appropriate recognition in the shape of a useful, and I sincerely trust, eventually, a discussion terminating with important practical results. I am anxious, therefore, sir, to take advantage of the few minutes allowed to me, to make a few remarks more in support of the theory set forth by the gallant lecturer, than from any desire to criticise it. The matter at its present stage seems to me to lie in a nutshell. It is submitted that the Colonies be dependent to a certain extent—in fact, chiefly—upon the mother-country for defence and protection in time of war; that our dominions shall be made to feel that their enemies are the enemies of Great Britain, and *vice versa*; and that distance or separation by water shall not form a sufficient excuse nor a just ground for alienation from the great fountain-head, from which spring all the energy, life, and talent with which our glorious Colonies at present abound, and to which they are daily adding from the mother store. But, sir, there are people in this country who seem to think that all we have to do with Colonies is simply to ship off our surplus population and useless hands to these beautiful and distant heritages of the earth; and, after supplying them with the bare necessities of life, to leave them to settle down as best they may, develop into organised society, and establish for themselves principles of self-government, without our care or responsibility. They seem to think that by making Colonies dependent on themselves they kill two birds with one stone; that they study, in the first place, a great economic law by reducing unproductive expenditure, in naval and military, to the lowest figure possible to the mother-country, and at the same time develop in the Colonies themselves the grand principles of self-help and self-reliance, which are the backbone and lifegiving force of our remarkable people. But, sir, those who argue thus, overreach the substance to grasp at the shadow. I do not mean to say that by making societies dependent on themselves we do not give them habits of self-reliance, and develop principles of self-help and self-government, but I do say that it is

as unreasonable to leave our Colonies in their infancy to shift for themselves as it is to turn a child of tender years out into the world—leave it to shift for itself, to battle against the storms of life, its vicissitudes, its disappointments, its difficulties, its jealousies, and its violence, in the hope that in the man hereafter may be developed principles of self-help, self-reliance, and self-government. Why, sir, out of one child that would be successful under such treatment there would be the ruin of a thousand; and so with our Colonies. In my opinion, the whole family of the Anglo-Saxon race should inherit, and have a direct interest in, the general inheritance left us by our forefathers; and if it is our desire to make the Colonies of Great Britain a source of strength to her, it will be by letting them eternally feel that their security lies in the mighty power of Great Britain, to which, unless I am very much misinformed, they will cheerfully and proudly contribute *according to their means*, and that they will share, by close alliance with the mother-country, those privileges and advantages which she enjoys, and which arise from the high moral influence, now of long standing, which Great Britain exercises over her inter-commercial relationships, and which gives to her, as it will to the Colonies, the most favourable conditions of the most forward nation. I am presuming, sir, in these few remarks that those people who have any views whatever concerning the Colonies and their future always have the good of the Colonies at heart in any suggestions they may offer, and that, whether they recommend separation or a closer alliance, I take it for granted that the improvement of the Colonies, and their development, forms the chief object of their solicitude. Bearing this in mind, then, sir, I consider that both politically and commercially the Colonies must benefit largely by their closer relationships with the mother-country. From us they will derive the *truest* and *safest* principles of government, which we have, after a chequered and eventful history, tried, established, and have not found wanting; and, while they rest secure from external attack, they will study the development of our national and social institutions, of which we are justly proud, and make them the subject of their noblest emulation in the gradual development of their own, under our immediate guidance, protection, and fostering care; and as they rapidly develop into centres of rich, civilised, and prosperous communities, they will, while they contribute in fit and proper proportion to the general expenses of naval and military protection, be left unhampered in their onward march by the grievous burden of protecting their extensive boundaries, and their vast and growing interests, with adequate armies and navies altogether beyond their

means and ability to maintain. But, sir, people may be disposed to say, bearing in mind the secession of America, "Are we to bear the burdens of protecting these rapidly developing dominions until such time as they may consider the propriety of throwing off the yoke of Great Britain?" To them I answer that, thanks to the lesson we were taught by the secession of America, we are never likely to repeat the mistakes which led to that unhappy result, and thanks also to the better knowledge and better appreciation of those economic laws upon the proper recognition of which all human progress and happiness depends, there is now no British yoke whatever for our Colonies to bear; but, on the contrary, they will feel the freedom and the encouragement of a closer and deeper attachment, and that if they were left to themselves as distinct nationalities they would not only be, at all times, exposed to international jealousies and quarrels, often ending in war, but that, as far as the mother-country herself is concerned, they would consider their own convenience as to how far they would permit Great Britain to enjoy, in her commercial relationship, the exceptional advantages conferred on a most favoured nation. Then, sir, to come nearer home still. With loss of empire would come loss of influence, which by the world at large, considering how much Great Britain exercises influences of a Christianising and civilising character, would be a very grave calamity; and the unproductive expenditure upon armies and navies, already far greater than nations can bear, would be doubled—ay, trebled—all over the earth. At present, if Great Britain were attacked, such is her maritime power that the navy of the hostile country would be required near his own shores to his last ship, and they could, under no circumstances, without great danger to themselves, spare a single vessel, much less a squadron, to make a descent upon our Colonies; and it grows, sir, more evident to me, that as the British nation becomes more and more consolidated into one vast, powerful empire, so more surely will a war with this country be looked upon by the world as a war with a united alliance of many great, prosperous, and powerful peoples.

Major R. POORE reminded the meeting with reference to the remark quoted by Mr. Labilliere from Sir William Harcourt's speech in the House of Commons, that it was founded upon a misquotation of Smollett. Smollett, he said, represented the mercantile marine as losing an enormous number of ships during the mismanagement that preceded the administration of Chatham, and not during the time of Chatham; and soon after, as Chatham came to the head, things were reversed, and the circumstances described by

Smollett were altogether rectified and different. There was one single quotation throughout Smollett that was not in favour of sustaining the maritime right of England to search enemies' goods on neutral boats, and if Mr. Labilliere would only look out that speech in Smollett he would see the great misquotations that were made by Sir William Harcourt.

Captain COLOMB (who was received with loud cheers) said : In the first place I must apologise, owing to the unconscionable length of my paper. But it was really impossible to help that, for the reason that I was speaking more to colonists than to any others, and it was necessary to touch, by matter of fact or illustration, every group of Colonies in every quarter of the world. That was not an easy thing to do in a matter of minutes. I feel I can best open my remarks by apologising. There is one important point which I wish to bring distinctly before the meeting. We had the honour here on Tuesday evening of the presence of General MacDougall, the head of the intelligence department of the British Empire. Those who will kindly look at my paper cannot but see how, when you test the dimensions of the mobilisation scheme by the remarks I made, it is wholly inapplicable and utterly deficient, for the reason that it only considers one-sixtieth part of the whole Empire. When you get into war, the first thing you will have to do is to break up that mobilisation scheme. I beg to call most distinct attention to the silence of the head of the intelligence department of the Empire in this matter, because those remarks connected with the mobilisation scheme were made in his presence, and they must stand as a fact. Now that is important in two senses. The military authorities cannot be blamed because that scheme does not extend beyond the United Kingdom ; for, although it is one of our most scientific departments, it is not able to make "bricks without straw." It could only deal with such means as the United Kingdom placed at its disposal, and could not deal with the means or the money of Australia, New Zealand, Canada, or anywhere else. I am certain of this, that if the burden of defence rests proportionably, and is therefore to be borne according to the resources of each fragment of the Empire, the intelligence department, of which General MacDougall is the distinguished head, would very soon enfold the whole Empire in a scheme of systematic defence. (Hear, hear.) To Sir Robert Torrens I need not allude. He has already drawn attention to King George's Sound. He confirmed me by saying that they could not find a gun detachment if they wanted it at King George's Sound. General Collinson threw clear light on the subject, and I am sure that his words will be accurately

repaired, and go forth accurately to the Colonies. Mr. Reed threw his weight on my side in advocating an Imperial dockyard in the Pacific. Now that has been called in question to-night by the statement that there is one. Now there is a great difference between a dockyard and a dock. There are docks at Sydney, but this is not the point put forward in my paper. It is one of the few places where you can dock a vessel; and I may tell you that the other day a ship was out of repair at South America, and they had to send her all the way to Sydney to repair her, but another ship, the *Repulse* (if I remember right), had to be sent home. There was not the means at Sydney for doing what was necessary, and therefore she had to come home.

Captain BEDFORD PIM, M.P., made the remark that her boilers were worn out.

Captain COLOMB: An Imperial dockyard for the construction and maintenance of a Pacific fleet is not at all met by a dock being at Sydney. Mr. Reed supported that, and threw the whole weight of his experience and great authority on my side. He said ships could be so constructed and so maintained at Sydney cheaper than any other part of the world. Now we come to the Cape. It is unnecessary for me to supplement anything that Mr. Donald Currie has said. He practically put the case when he alluded to his own ships and the difficulty he was under. Whatever else comes of this valuable discussion which we have had, I do trust that in the matter of sustaining our fleets in regard to repair that the practically experienced voices of Mr. Reed and Mr. Donald Currie will not be raised in vain. I regret we have not had more expressions of opinion from Colonial gentlemen on this great subject. The object of this paper is to put the matter as it stands in the clearest light and in an interrogatory manner. The answers must come across the sea. It was pointed out the effect produced in the minds of Australians by the Franco-German war, and practically felt when Captain Gilmore was sent to Ceylon. The anxiety was great, there being no telegraph; they wished to have the latest information. At that time the Colonies were in a state of agitation about their own defence; and I venture to say that if you search all our home papers and proceedings in Parliament during the time of the war you will find Australia never appears to have crossed anybody's mind at home; and I wish to mention that to show we cannot bottle ourselves up in these islands, we cannot meet war merely with an invasion scheme. It was a fact related to me by a high authority, in whom I have the fullest and most perfect confidence, and he told me the following story, which is a practical illustration of such

matters : About the same time mentioned by Captain Gilmore it was thought that we should have to throw an army into Antwerp. All Englishmen's minds at home were full of Antwerp, as they are now of Turkey. Of course war rumours in England intensified as they travelled away from England. There were none of Her Majesty's ships at the moment in Hong Kong, but there were some five millions of money belonging to Englishmen in that place at that time, besides enormous commercial interests in many ways at stake. A very powerful but small Russian squadron came down and anchored in Hong Kong. There was great excitement. The fleet was scattered ; people began to think this was awkward ; they did not know what the next telegram would bring. They looked for guns ; they found no modern guns. They looked for forts ; they had none. They looked for the navy ; it was away at sea. And there was Hong Kong, with a garrison, but without any means of local defence. The powder magazine stands on the hill. The first shell from the enemy's gun would have blown it up, and the Russians would have had all their own way. So viewing this question of Imperial defence, do what you may, and say what you choose, when England is to defend herself the greater part of the world, as it is English territory, is open to attack, and every scheme of defence must be one of an Imperial character. Now Captain Bedford Pim was asked why he did not push this matter in Parliament, and he brought before you the case of the Russian fleet. He asks me to agitate this great question. Well, I really do not know how to do it. I think it is a curious state of public feeling when the question put by Captain Bedford Pim to the First Lord of the Admiralty connected with that which might at any moment become a most serious question (the defence of our traffic and trade in the Pacific Ocean), only raised a laugh in the House of Commons. Now Sir John Burgoyne's name has been mentioned, and I should very much like to close my remarks by drawing attention to the fact, that of all Englishmen of our generation his word should have commanded, one would suppose, the most attention ; and we have heard from Colonel Crossman, who has had the opportunity of knowing that twenty years ago Sir J. Burgoyne spoke of his anxiety for defending King George's Sound ; and we heard from Sir R. Torrens the other night that there are no forts, which I know ; there are no guns, which I also know ; but they could not even get together a gun detachment. Therefore here you had a man, the greatest engineer of our generation, whose career extended from Badajoz to Sebastopol, who covered himself with laurels, who was Inspector-General of Fortifications, and had the

ear of Governments, and yet twenty years ago he pointed to one little spot, and twenty years afterwards it is found in just the same undefended state. I wish to say one word more. I hold in my hand a letter from that very same Field Marshal to show the necessity there is for casting our eyes beyond the shores of England. Ten years ago he entered into a correspondence with me, although I was utterly unknown to him, because I was casting my eyes beyond the shores of England when all Governments and everybody else were confining themselves to the defence of the United Kingdom. He says in that letter: "The danger is that the best projects may be marred by the important element of cost which is frequently given undue importance to over-efficiency, and even over absolute necessity." Now the question of Imperial defence, I will admit, is a question of costs; and whether the British Empire, consisting of the United Kingdom and her Colonies, is going to throw away Imperial safety and run a fearful risk, all simply because we cannot agree as to how to settle the burden of the costs, is a thing I do not believe. I think it merely requires to be put before the country and the Colonies by those who can make their voices heard, and I trust I shall yet live to see not a miserable little mobilisation scheme, but a system of Imperial defence. (Great cheering.)

The CHAIRMAN (Hon. A. Kinnaird, M.P.): There remains only one duty at this late hour of the night—namely, to give our friend Captain Colomb a cordial and hearty vote of thanks for having devoted, in the most patriotic manner, his time and talents in drawing attention to this subject. (Cheers.) I hope we shall, each one of us, carry away the information he has given, and I entirely agree with the few words in which he concluded his eloquent speech, that the money would be a very inferior part of the matter, when it is considered that the Colonies are in so flourishing a condition; and that some of them have a surplus revenue of millions sterling, I cannot but think they would be quite willing and ready to take their fair share with the mother-country of any expenses for the defences of the Empire.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG (the Honorary Secretary) announced that the next meeting of the Institute would be held on June 7th, and the subject, "The Present Position and Future Prospects of South Africa," by Mr. Donald Currie.

TENTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Tenth Ordinary General Meeting was held at the "Pall Mall," on Thursday, June 7th, 1877, his Grace the Duke of MANCHESTER, K.P., President, in the chair.

Amongst those present were Captain Grenfell, Sir John Coode and Miss Coode, Captain J. G. B. Stopford (32nd Light Infantry), Mr. J. A. Froude, Mr. Anthony Trollope, Governor S. Rowe, C.M.G. (West African Settlements), Hon. Evelyn Ashley, M.P., Colonel Crossman, R.E., C.M.G., Mr. R. B. Mackie, Mr. Saunders, Mr. H. W. Freeland, Mr. J. A. Ford, Captain G. Gilmore (late Colonial Secretary, Tasmania), Mr. T. F. Quin (West Africa), Mr. F. W. Chesson, Mr. G. Molineux, Mr. Edmund Trimmer (South Australia), Captain J. C. R. Colomb, R.M.A., Mr. G. R. Godson, Mr. T. Risely Griffith (Grenada), Mr. G. L. Houstoun, Mr. Alexander Croll (Cape of Good Hope), Captain Felix Jones, Colonel Alcock, Mr. H. B. T. Strangways (late Attorney-General, South Australia), Mr. Jacob Montefiore, Mr. J. D. Thomson (Cape), Mr. Charles Piers (Cape), Mr. J. D. Wood, Mr. H. Von-Ronn, Mr. H. Von-Ronn, jun., Mr. Downes Griffith (Cape of Good Hope), Mr. Herbert Edwards (New Zealand), Mr. James Farmer (New Zealand), Rev. G. Smith, Mr. John S. Prince (Cape), Mr. F. W. Reid, Mr. J. Jackson, Mr. J. MacGrath, Mr. E. P. Lamport (Natal), Mr. James Stevens, Mr. L. Maclean, Dr. C. Andrew, Mr. William Walker, jun., Mr. David Gill, Mr. J. F. Dunlop (Ceylon), Mr. Augustus Wolfen (Victoria, Australia), Mr. Lewis F. Thomas, Mr. H. P. Popham, Mr. J. H. Lange, Mr. S. B. Browning (New Zealand), Mr. Robert C. Green (Transvaal), Mr. J. Mann, Mr. W. T. Deverell (Victoria), Mr. S. R. Deverell (Victoria), Mr. F. W. Stone (Canada), Mr. W. Maxwell, Mr. T. B. Glanville and Mr. W. C. Burnet (Emigration Agents, Cape of Good Hope), Mr. and Mrs. Nixon, Captain Penfold, R.N.R., Hon. E. N. Walker (Assistant Colonial Secretary, Jamaica), Mr. Leonard W. Thrupp (South Australia), Mr. Philip H. Nind, M.L.A. (Queensland), Mr. J. B. Colthurst, Lieut.-General Bisset, C.B., Mr. J. Sanjo (Japan), Mr. Henry Hall (Cape of Good Hope), Mr. J. Bruce (Cape of Good Hope), Mr. J. H. C. McGibbon (Cape of Good Hope), Mr. F. P. Labilliere, Mr. Frederick Young (Hon. Secretary), Mr. Kerry Nicholls (Queensland), Mr. V. D. Archer (Barbadoes), &c. &c.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG (Hon. Sec.) read the minutes of the Ninth General Meeting, which were confirmed.

The PRESIDENT then called upon DONALD CURRIE, Esq., C.M.G., to read the following paper on

THOUGHTS UPON THE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA, AND CENTRAL AND EASTERN AFRICA.

A few days before the last meeting of the members of the Institute, the Honorary Secretary, accompanied by a member of the Council, called upon me to explain the circumstances under which

you had been disappointed in the arrangements you had made for a paper upon South Africa; and in the emergency it was pressed upon me that I might render a service, and further the object in view, by taking up the subject. I mention this at the outset, because it may be a matter of surprise to some of the members present that I should appear here, having no claim whatever to a special knowledge of the subject, never having been in that country. But it seemed to me to be of great importance to the Cape Colony and Natal, to Griqualand and the Orange Free State, as well as to the Transvaal under present circumstances, and, indeed, to the whole of Southern, Central, and Eastern Africa also, that the affairs of that continent, and its probable future, should have the attention of the public by means of an enlightened discussion. You will, therefore, bear with me, if in a somewhat crude manner, and in the necessarily brief limits of this paper, I deal with the principles which affect that country, rather than with mere details, which can be better insisted upon by those who have lived in South Africa, and are conversant with its special characteristics. The question is, what combination of circumstances and systematic arrangement of means, what development of resources and of motive power, is to press South Africa forward in civilisation and prosperity? And in making these inquiries it will naturally occur to us to bear in mind the obstacles which have hitherto hindered a more complete success, and some of which cannot be altogether removed.

I need not go back to the early history of the Cape Colony and Natal. You all know how the Dutch settlers, after the Portuguese discoveries, established themselves in the Cape Colony, and thereafter in the interior and in Natal; and how, by conquest and settlement, English influence predominated. The later history of the establishment of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic is of sufficiently recent date to be well known to all interested in that part of the world. I take as a starting-point 1871, when responsible government was given to the Cape Colony. From that date the new history of South Africa begins, with the political changes in the old Colony and the outcome of mineral wealth in the Diamond Fields, followed by the dispute between the Imperial Government and the Orange Free State. The thoughts which occur to me in relation to these subjects I propose very briefly to place before you; they may be taken as offering the texts for argument and discussion, and will, I am sure, have considerate criticism.

Her Majesty the Queen, in 1871, upon the recommendation of

the late Government, gave to the Cape Colony the power to control its own affairs. By a small majority of the Cape Legislature this privilege was accepted; but in the minds of many throughout the Colony there prevailed the doubt whether the Cape was sufficiently advanced to undertake the duties of responsible Government. In the Parliaments immediately preceding the date of this establishment of virtual independence, men then well known, but now still more eminent, assisted to influence or direct the affairs of the Cape Colony. The Honourable J. C. Molteno, Prime Minister of the Cape, was then an independent advocate for its liberties; while the distinguished chief of the Orange Free State, his Honour President Brand, held his part in the debates of an Assembly of which his father was the Speaker. It is quite possible that those who then objected to the capacity of the Cape Colony to manage its own affairs might have been entitled to argue that a postponement for a certain period would have been advisable; but now in this month of June, 1877, after the troubles and disputes connected with Confederation, and the Diamond Fields, and the Transvaal, I put it to you whether it is not good for South Africa, that the Queen at that time gave the Cape Colony responsible Government? I venture to think that the prospects of to-day for the whole of South Africa would not have been so bright if the Imperial sanction had not been accorded to the natural instinct of Englishmen for self-government; and it will be admitted that the circumstances of the last five years have been favourable to a successful development of the principle of self-government.

The South African communities, in the swift strides which they have made within the last few years, owe much of their intellectual and material progress to the influences of favourable circumstances. The discovery of diamonds in Griqualand West gave an impulse to the prosperity of South Africa. Hidden treasures of wealth were brought to light; fortunes were made; enterprise was stimulated; imports and exports were encouraged; immigrants were drawn to the country; land rose in value; and South Africa got a name. But then troubles arose. The action of the representatives of the Government with regard to the Diamond Fields opened up the question of the right to possess them. The Orange Free State claimed, with earnest indignation, that the land was theirs, and they stated they were prepared to prove their title to it. Controversy stimulated inquiry, and men's minds were naturally directed to the consideration of the question of what was right and ought to be done.

To anyone acquainted with the politics of the Cape Colony, and

the strong feelings which prevailed in the Orange Free State since 1871, and until this question was settled, it is unnecessary to enter into details. There was everywhere amongst the men of Dutch descent, and amongst some Englishmen too, both in the Republics and in the Cape Colony, the belief that the English name was open to the imputation of having sought to possess what was not clearly proved to be within the just rights of this country. All this, however, is now changed; for the Orange Free State, upon the invitation of the noble Lord who directs the policy of the Colonial Office, deputed President Brand to visit England, and in due time the dispute was settled, with a generous and liberal regard for the rights of the Orange Free State. That State is satisfied; the Diamond Fields question is at rest. But the influence of the diamonds as a source of wealth, and of the Diamond Fields question, first as a subject of controversy, and afterwards as resulting in an honourable settlement, must be taken into account as of great importance in estimating all that affects the present and the future of South Africa.

In the Republic of the Transvaal, President Burgers—whose name I must always mention with respect, as one with whom I had the most intimate relations when he lived with me in England—had, up to the time of leaving his country to visit Europe, exerted in the short time which had elapsed after his election the influence of an educated mind. But, while giving Mr. Burgers credit for the utmost readiness to further a beneficent policy, such as that of the English Government towards South Africa, I must admit that on his return to the Transvaal after the successful settlement, as he thought, of the Loan in Holland, he evinced a desire to inaugurate efforts for Transvaal development which his country had not the means to accomplish.

A different policy prevailed in Natal. There the limited population of the subjects of the Queen, warm in the enthusiasm which they have as such, and courageous at the same time in the presence of an overwhelming force of savage tribes, thought less of aggrandisement, and more of progress and development. And so it came to pass that Her Majesty's Government settled with Natal the basis of a railway system which will materially contribute to the prosperity of that Colony.

What of Griqualand West, placed all along in a position of apparent antagonism with the Orange Free State, treated with some indifference by the Cape Colony, and burdened with a heavy taxation in maintaining an administration of its own? What could Griqualand West do, although it possessed a mine of diamonds?

And what is to be the future of Griqualand West? Through the action of the Home Government and the enlightened accord of the Cape Parliament, that part of South Africa will now have its fortunes attached to the Cape Colony.

If it had not been for these vexed questions, the proposed confederation policy might have had a warmer welcome in South Africa, and have met with less opposition; yet even now the Orange Free State is understood to have objections to the union of the States of South Africa. President Brand did not feel it within the scope of his powers to discuss the question at the Conference with respect to native law and other matters which was held in London last year, although he concurred in the desirability of a common system of police, the regulation of the sale of arms and of spiritous liquors, as well as the development of industrial education; but time works wonders, and now that the Transvaal has been annexed, it is very possible that the people of the Free State will gradually accustom themselves to the idea of a closer union with the English Colonies. So long ago as December 22, 1858, the Orange Free State passed this resolution: "This Raad is convinced that a union or alliance with the Cape Colony, whether on the basis of federation or otherwise, is desirable, and therefore resolves to request his Honour the President to correspond with his Excellency the Governor upon that subject . . . for the purpose of planning the approximate terms of union."

In 1871 the Cape appointed a Commission of Federation, and in their Report the following words occur:—"Some, whose opinions are entitled to great respect, are of opinion that until the Free State, the Transvaal Republic, and Natal show a disposition to federate with the Cape, and until West Griqualand and the country between the Kei and the Bashae, or between the Kei and Natal, shall have been annexed to the Colony, no change of the kind proposed will be either necessary or expedient . . . The time may come when the advantage of a union among South African communities for the creation of a strong Government, powerful to protect and, to a certain extent, to control its several members, will become apparent to all;" while, in 1875, Natal and Griqualand West passed resolutions that it was desirable to form a federal union. Now that the Transvaal is joined to the English possessions, there remains outside the Orange Free State only, and her interests and sympathies will bring her in; but time must be given for this and for the development of kindlier feelings than those which prevailed during the Diamond Fields dispute.

Here, then, in South Africa, are several communities, all divided,

all with special peculiarities, the Cape Colony itself actually, as is said by some persons, wishing to be divided into an Eastern and Western Colony; but whether one Colony or two Colonies, making up with the other parts of South Africa, an assemblage of peoples who are kept separate now, not by conflicting interests, but by geographical and accidental conditions, an unwillingness to face sudden political changes, and by misapprehension.

What systematic arrangement of means, what development of resources, is to press them all forward in union, civilisation, and prosperity? Is each Colony or State to go alone? What will they gain by that? or are they to unite into one great community for the general good of Africa, spreading fruitfulness, wealth, and happiness in their onward progress. And here I may ask, what is there more fitting than the admirable words used by the noble Lord, who more than all others has sought to promote Colonial interests. In his speech in the House of Lords on the occasion of his introducing the Government Bill for the Confederation of the States of South Africa, Lord Carnarvon said: "But of all the changes which this measure may produce, I anticipate with the advent of political and administrative union none more hopefully than a real union in sentiment of the Dutch and English race. The old quarrel to which I have alluded is dying out, is fast becoming a thing of the past; real friendliness exists under the crust of political discord All must gain in general political strength as in material prosperity by combination, and I will only add that my highest object has been to restore the union of sentiment between the two peoples."

A short time ago it was unpopular to say a word in favour of Confederation; it might be better to call it union, or community of interests; but, whatever the name, the thing itself is now more acceptable. I daresay, if Mr. Froude had said that Lord Carnarvon only wished South Africa to be united and prosperous, and that representatives should meet and discuss its future, people there would have said this was reasonable and good. But it was called Confederation, the proposed meeting was termed a Conference, and, when catch words are got hold of, misconceptions are apt to follow. I venture to say that the position of South Africa at the present moment warrants in the minds of all, even of those who may not entirely agree with the Colonial policy referred to, a cordial approval of the statesmanlike prescience which can estimate circumstances, and foresee and direct to a suitable and satisfactory result.

Six months ago the Transvaal was at war with Secocoeni, but

now this chief is quiet; Cetchwayo, the Zulu King, has withdrawn his warriors from the borders of the territory; and the British flag flies over Pretoria. The people of the Transvaal did not yield unwillingly to a manifest destiny when they accepted with generous welcome the control of a Government which now-a-days in South Africa is so unlike the inconsiderate British rule of former times. In that country, as in the Free State, the recollection of a policy which could establish the freedom of the slave while disregarding the just claims of their masters, and which, as in the case of the Basuto war, could step in just at the moment of the Boers' victory to secure our own supremacy after we had parted with the Orange Free State as a possession, could have no friendly issue if it had not been for the widespread conviction that England is now desirous to act justly and earnestly for the good of South Africa. Who that knows the history of South Africa can avoid regret and shame in the recollection that when the slaves were set free the colonists were compelled to discount their treasury bills, received as compensation, at a ruinous loss to Colonial speculators, who were also able to purchase the lands of the discontented proprietors to great advantage, while the old owners passed over the Vaal and Orange River to be free from foreign control?

We must all rejoice that the Transvaal is now under British influence. That State is placed as a wedge in the southern part of Central Africa. With Natal it controls the whole outlet to the north, alongside of the Portuguese possessions on the coast line, and the future of the Transvaal will be closely identified with the future of Central Africa.

Amongst the influences which are to affect the future of South Africa, I think the first to be mentioned is education. Already in the Cape Colony, and in the Free State and Natal, colleges and educational institutions afford advantages to the rising generation—institutions which, I am told, have in them the elements of future greatness, although more modest in administration than those which we possess at home. The facilities for travel place us here in contact from day to day with gentlemen from that distant country, who never before had seen England, or enjoyed its privileges; and I think it must be generally admitted that, for intelligence and readiness of resource, the visitors from South Africa may stand in comparison with any of us. Perhaps the climate has much to do with the quick perception and energy which shows itself in the visitor from Africa, and under favourable circumstances the benefits of education will develop these and other qualities into higher intellectual power. In this I see for South Africa the source

of great advancement, for if the 'climate of a country deadens or over-stimulates, how can we expect progressive and increasing prosperity? The white inhabitants of South Africa require their acutest faculties [in dealing with the natives. They have not merely to place their colour in opposition to the native people, they have to match intellects against craft; but if the South African is destined to have the overwhelming superiority which follows right dealing and high moral influences, am I not right in placing the highest education of the intellect of South Africa as a most potent influence for good in that land?

And then we must have enterprise; and in the word enterprise I include both mental and material enterprise, under the influence of a fitting education, that is to say, all that can advance sound Christian principles. It is a singular fact that while the hunter in search of sport may have penetrated far into the regions of Africa, or the trader in the pursuit of gain has risked his life in its wilds, both have found far ahead of them, at the utmost limits, the missionary with the gospel of peace. And although this is a topic which sometimes provokes a smile, as I do admit from the errors of those who represent the cause referred to (for there may occasionally be some unfitness in the agency employed), yet it is not to be denied that by a Moffat, a Livingstone, and a Stewart in Africa, or a Henry Martyn or Bishop Heber in India, the conviction has been established that justice, enlightenment, and high principle govern the conduct of our countrymen. But if it be conceded that these principles must influence and prevail, I may take it for granted that enterprise, missionary or commercial, will have the spring of enlightened earnestness, and that the trader, or miner, or agriculturist, like the missionary himself, will be impelled by something more than a mere love of gain.

Here I may remind you of the missionary and commercial zeal illustrated by the establishment of the Scottish and English Missions as an advanced inland post of British influence amongst the natives of Lake Nyassa. The object there is to form a power for good, evangelical and industrial, designed to be a nucleus of advancing Christian life and civilisation to the Nyassa and surrounding region. It is a bold step: it is the most advanced effort in that quarter, and it has the character of nationality, for it places the English name on that inland sea as a point to which British influence must reach. The impression will arise in the minds of those who desire to honour the memory of Dr. Livingstone, that this is a fitting tribute to his memory, and we may remember the words of that distinguished traveller, who often spoke

of this country as most healthy and suitable for such a settlement: "All will go right some day, although I may not live to participate in the joy, or even see the commencement of better times."

The telegraph will be one of the most important agents in giving an impetus to enterprise, both moral and material. Hence the satisfaction with which we must regard the energetic efforts of the Cape Government and the Governments of Natal and the Orange Free State, in the establishment of a more complete system of land telegraph lines. And if this inter-communication in that country is advantageous, and to be encouraged, what arguments do I require to enforce what has already been urged by me before the Royal United Service Institution, that is to say, the duty of the Government of this country, both on Imperial and Colonial grounds, to lay, without loss of time, a telegraphic cable between England and the Cape Colony; for the great benefits to be derived from communication by telegraph in Africa will lose half their value unless the Colony is linked with the mother-country by an equally rapid means of intercourse.

It may be taken as a matter of course that proper roads in the Colonies must be made. This is the question for the East of Africa and is now occupying the attention of those who are interested in the means of securing intercourse with the great interior lakes. To the farmer, the wool-grower, the trader, to all, indeed, who live hundreds of miles to the north of the Cape and Natal, it is a matter of pressing necessity that there should be established the least difficult means of reaching the sea-coast. Following the formation of suitable roads, there is naturally the greater development of land carriage by the establishment of railways. Nothing demonstrates more clearly the prosperity of the Cape, and its enterprise too, than the course which has been adopted by the Cape Government and Parliament in their decision to expend five millions sterling in the construction of railways.

Another great want of South Africa is suitable seaports and harbours; for, excepting Cape Town, there is no harbour where a vessel can lie in shelter and have the facilities which are required for loading and discharging. Mossel Bay, Port Elizabeth (Algoa Bay), Port Alfred, and East London, are all open roadsteads; and at Durban, in Natal, it is difficult to be certain of more than ten feet of water on the bar. Sir John Coode, the eminent civil engineer, has lately visited that country on the invitation of the Cape Government, and has surveyed all the ports. It will be extremely interesting to hear what opinions he has formed as to the best

means to be adopted for securing greater facilities to shipping at the seaports which I have named.

Then there are the elements of material prosperity. The gold mine has played a remarkable part in the history of the world. It seems as if Providence employed the attraction of gold to draw men to people distant and neglected portions of the globe. Hence the prosperity of California, the advance of Australia, and the probable advance of South Africa. But besides gold, a bountiful nature has set throughout South Africa large mineral wealth—cobalt, iron, silver, copper, manganese, tin, lead, coal, not to speak of diamonds. And as regards the surface of the soil, fruit, and grain of every description grow and flourish, wheat as fine as that of California, the produce of the tropics alongside of the fruits and productions we are familiar with in this country and with an abundance unknown to us. The fruitfulness of that country, remarked by all travellers, requires only the presence and energy of enterprising white men to bring out its hidden illimitable resources.

Irrigation is one means which must have greater development in that country. One may wonder that the bountiful showers which fall in Southern Africa are not collected and stored for the irrigation of the soil and the use of the flocks and herds of the inhabitants. I take it that all this will follow a larger immigration and the increase of enterprise and wealth.

Immigration is one of the greatest wants of South Africa; it must be encouraged by the Governments of that country, following the example of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. One of the best results to be hoped from a union of the communities of South Africa may be found in some harmonious arrangement for a general system of immigration. The Cape Colony has most worthily made efforts to supply this want for itself. I remember that President Burgers said to me there was no use for the Transvaal spending money for the introduction of immigrants so long as the Cape Government thought fit to import them at the expense of their Colony, for that they found their way into the Transvaal. To this I replied that in my opinion this fact, if a fact, should not influence the Cape Government to alter their plans, seeing that even if the people went into the Transvaal they would help to develop its resources, and to bring revenue to the Cape Colony itself. One of the most important objects of the South African authorities must be arrangements for immigration, and to this end much has been done already. The public works of the Colony have been supplied with workmen by the Cape Emigration Commissioners in this

country, Messrs. Glanville and Burnet, whose able and untiring exertions are devoted to obtaining the very best class of men for the Colony. I know that they are also most zealous and successful in searching for and facilitating the transport of those free emigrants who proceed to, or are engaged for, South Africa. But I venture to urge, as I have done officially in a communication to the Cape, the vast advantage which will accrue to the Colony if the Government can agree to a thorough system, such as has prevailed in Australia and New Zealand, for the introduction of agriculturists, masons, joiners, carpenters, smiths, shepherds, and others; men with a little money, or, with what is as good, suitable knowledge and handiness in their trades. It is what New Zealand has accomplished successfully, and even the Hawaiian Government aims at a like result. And this idea has had a start, for last week the Cape Commissioners dispatched in the steamer *Courland* seventy-nine emigrants from Scotland, who have received the promise of land in the Transkei upon an agreement for its possession by them, they paying one shilling per acre per month for ten years, at the end of which time the valuable land so granted to them is to be their own property. The extension of this plan will be of the utmost possible benefit to the Cape Colony, but it has a limit, I fear, in this difficulty—that in South Africa a large portion of the fertile lands has been allowed to fall into the hands of speculators or others out of the control of the Governments, so that there is not the same power to give grants of land as in Australia and in New Zealand. Nevertheless, it is quite plain that due encouragement should be given by the Colonial Governments, and no greater benefit can accrue for the future development of South Africa than from a well-organised practical system of free or assisted immigration.

The geographical position of Cape Colony, as commanding the Western route to India and Australia, claims from the Imperial Government greater attention than it has received from a military and naval point of view; for with all the loyalty and courage of the people of South Africa, what humiliation would it bring, if, through the neglect of the home authorities, the harbours and coast were to suffer from the attacks of an enemy! This is not the place in which to enlarge upon the importance of Simon's Bay as a naval station, and the urgent necessity for the establishment of a graving dock there for the repair of the vessels of the British fleet. It will suffice if I simply indicate in this paper the readiness which I feel assured prevails throughout the English possessions in that quarter to join in any system of patriotic action with the mother country

for Colonial defence. One very interesting indication of the impulses of the people of South Africa in this direction may be found in the intention of some of the volunteers of the Cape Colony to visit this country, to compete with their brethren from Canada and Australia for the prizes offered at Wimbledon.

The native question is a great difficulty. And here I would venture to pay a tribute to the enlightened policy of the Cape Government towards the coloured races. The gradual extermination of the native population, as in America and in Australia, is not to be expected in South Africa. The Kaffirs are there; they are capable of improvement; and it is our duty to treat them fairly; for they may be trained, in time, into useful members of the great South African community.

The great destiny for South Africa I hold to be the overcoming of ignorance and the conquest of material oppositions throughout. In this I include an object dear to Englishmen, the gradual abolition of slavery, and in its place the establishment of commercial and agricultural advantages. Africa has been shut up for many centuries. It is to be opened up and receive within its borders, torn by war and oppressed by cruelty, the blessings of our civilisation. This is not to be gained by wishing or theorising, or by the presence of British fleets on the Eastern or Western coasts. Practical consistent common sense efforts must be employed, in order that the whole country may be opened up. The merchants and traders will take their course northwards, the Boers in advance; trading stations will be established; farms opened out; mineral resources will be developed. Along the coast the ports, now under Portuguese authority, will be occupied by agencies of the merchants of the southern ports; and due East, into the interior, routes from the coast ports will open up communications with the advancing communities inland. At present the Eastern coast ports do not facilitate intercourse with the interior, for the Portuguese are unable to exercise control beyond their forts or stations near the coast. It is only necessary to refer to the reports of the British Consular Agents to discover the lamentable state of matters on the Eastern Coast of Africa. It has been observed with striking comments upon the prospects of the future of that part of the world by the Consular Agents, that produce for export, such as coffee, which grows in perfection in many parts of Africa, but which cannot pay for its carriage *viâ* the Nile, might be enormously developed if proper routes were made to the sea-coast. And the Consul at Zanzibar, in 1878, made this remark: "If the difficult problem of the civilisation of the wild tribes of inner Africa be surmountable, it will be by opening

up facilities for commerce that it will be solved; for in the absence of such inducements the, to them, distasteful work of cultivation will never progress beyond the servile labours of their women, which for ages has sufficed to supply their wants."

The Government of this country, by the establishment of a line of steamers between the Cape and Zanzibar, and Zanzibar and Aden, intended to stimulate commercial intercourse, and thereby assist in the abolition of the slave trade. It is quite true that the Sultan of Zanzibar has fallen in with the wishes of the Government by concluding a treaty; but it has only had the effect of driving the slave trade to pass by land northwards, with additional sufferings to the captives. Indeed, in the coast ports there is the same need for supervision and vigilance as before. I am quite satisfied that the proper course for the Government to take, is to encourage steamships trading along the coast to take such ports as the Mozambique and the mouths of the Zambesi ports of destination, or of longer call for the steamers than at present, in order that a permanent influence may be exerted upon the people. But beyond this I may say that it is not reasonable to expect that there can be any diminution in the traffic in slaves, or in the advancement of any desire to obtain freedom for them, so long as we fail to recognise the fact that the slave trade is encouraged by many Indian Banians as well as by Arab traders. I consider that it is not by a connection with India to the northward that the slave trade is to be controlled. In my judgment South Africa, with its British people, feelings, and enterprise, is the country which is to have the honour of removing slavery by the encouragement of industry; and this is not to be accomplished by means of a connection with the Persian Gulf or the Indian Sea, as has been proposed, seeing that there is a population in those parts supplying a market for the traffic and an asylum for those who have made their fortunes by the trade.

Legitimate trade on the East Coast has shown a marked increase since the establishment of steam navigation. In the report of Captain Prideaux, Her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar, with respect to trade and commerce for the years 1873-4, immediately after mail steamers had been placed upon the line between Aden, Zanzibar, and the Cape, there appeared a striking comparison between the course of trade before and after the establishment of a steam service and the new regulations of the Sultan of Zanzibar for the suppression of the slave trade on the coast. Partly owing to the difficulty of finding out from those who farm the Customs in the Zanzibar territory, and partly from the objection of the limited number of merchants who have mercantile houses at the seaboard, and who

are naturally jealous of rivalry, it has always been difficult to obtain the exact data which indicate the progress of commerce in imports and exports. But its natural result has manifested itself. The importation of arms, beads, and wire, which showed a marked decrease in 1872-3, somewhat recovered its position in 1873-4, and for this reason: the negotiations for the treaty of 1873 gave ground for uneasiness to the merchants who supply the slave-dealers, and while negotiations were in progress a virtual stop was put to the trade. But, as I say, in 1873-4 the trade was renewed, and the Consul properly mentions this as "a melancholy proof of the vitality of the land traffic to which the public attention is now directed."

The efforts which England has made for the suppression of the slave trade on the East Coast of South Africa, and in the Mozambique Channel, and the exertions of our Consuls and naval officers merit the highest praise. The naval officers have little support, official reports state, from any other Power. Consul Elton, in his last report, has stated that the Portuguese made no exertions at sea to hinder the traffic, except, indeed, one or two short trips of a little steamer, which for the rest of the year sheltered itself in Mozambique. In May, 1875, Rear-Admiral Cumming wrote to the Secretary of the Admiralty as follows: "That slavery exists, and to a great extent, in Mozambique is unquestioned; but before the Navy can put a stop to this they must have greater powers. The Navy know full well that its present work is all in vain." And here I may mention one hindrance to the development of traffic along the coast—namely, that the coasting trade could only be carried on under the Portuguese flag, except in the case of mail steamers.

The development of the trade of the coast ports situated between Zanzibar and Natal will hereafter be best secured through river carriage by the natural channels such as the Zambesi. The improved caravan roads which have been suggested naturally will offer the points of junction for the traders and immigrants from the Cape Colony on their civilising march to the north; but as the whole line of coast between Natal and Zanzibar is in the hands of the Portuguese Government, the question may be asked what will Portugal do to assist us? The honour of discovery, the right of conquest and possession gave to the Portuguese this length of seaboard—a narrow strip of land, within whose limits the authority is not always respected or recognised, and beyond whose borders very little traffic from the East enters and spreads itself. The English Consul at Mozambique, in his report for 1875, referring to this large extent of sea-coast possessions, which he estimates at

1,200 miles of extent, says that "the furthest points in the interior occupied by the Portuguese are on the Zambesi river, where a few men were recently stationed as high as Zumba, but are now withdrawn to Tete." He states distinctly that "there are no posts held in the interior by the Portuguese on the East Coast of Africa elsewhere than in their district of Zambezia." The whole of this territory is capable of great development, but how can this be furthered by Portuguese influence, if, according to Consul Elton's report, "the finances of Mozambique are in a deplorable state, and naturally affect trade? Money has been borrowed from the French merchants to meet the military pay, and every penny is sent to the capital to keep the machinery of the Local Government from coming to a sudden standstill." Under such circumstances it may become a matter for serious consideration whether any Power is justified in impeding commerce and civilisation by the exercise of a merely nominal sovereignty.

The future prospects of South-Eastern Africa depend in a large measure upon the use which the Government of Portugal may make of the port of Lorenzo Marques, or Delagoa Bay. Situated in close proximity to the Transvaal and the Zulu kingdom, it offers to these districts, as well as to the whole of the Portuguese possessions to the north, and to the interior up to the Zambesi, a source of supply and means of export quite unique. There is an unlimited supply of water for shipping; the harbour is safe, and the trade with Mozambique and the East African Coast ports could be largely increased. There is to be a railway between the Bay and the Borders of the Transvaal. The question arises then, will Portugal press forward its development, not merely establishing there a military station, but making it a centre of influence and of commercial life? Delagoa Bay has offered hitherto most dangerous facilities to the Kaffirs for the purchase of gunpowder, cheap guns, and spirits. It is not an uncommon thing for hundreds of Zulus to be seen at and near Delagoa Bay, waiting for a delivery of guns, and under a treaty made with President Burgers this facility was to be increased by a reduction of the duty. This implies a grave danger, aggravated by the utter absence of control, as Consul Elton states, by the Portuguese beyond their own port.

The Government of Portugal, as may be seen from their communications with our Government, are now deeply interested in carrying out every practicable measure in their power for the development and prosperity of the territories under their control on the East Coast of Africa. I am quite aware that our blue-books show great laxity on the part of the officials of Portugal in Africa. It is

to be regretted that the Government has not hitherto been able to establish such agencies by liberal payment, and with suitable assistance, as are required; but it is to be hoped that the enlightened purpose of the Government of Lisbon to encourage trade and to abolish the slave traffic in harmony with England, will impress upon them the necessity for a liberal and extended expenditure and supervision. The Government is not altogether to blame; we must look to the limited means which circumstances have allowed them to employ in the prosecution of a task so onerous and responsible as the supervision and control of a sea-coast of 1,200 miles in extent.

In Natal the sale of guns is placed under restrictions for the very purpose of preventing any supply of arms to the native tribes; but Consul Elton, the British representative at Mozambique, makes this remark in his report: "All our precautions and legislations are nullified by the existence of an armoury on our flank;" and he adds: "This opens a question of the gravest consequences, and demands serious consideration." Another danger and injury to the people and to the future of the country exists in the unregulated sale of spirits to such tribes as the Amatongas, a system which it has been officially reported "is fast demoralising the country." I have not invented these reflections, but have drawn the information mentioned from official sources. For my own part I express the conviction that the enlightened humanity of the Portuguese Government will dictate to the authorities of Lorenzo Marques such regulations as will secure freedom from a danger threatening to them and to England. For it may be remembered that not a century ago Kaffirs surrounded the town of Lorenzo Marques, dismantled the fortress, and seized the Governor, Ribeiro, and murdered him barbarously. The present time offers a fine opportunity for the extension of a plan of Confederation to Lorenzo Marques itself, and, if the Portuguese would have it, as far north as, or further than, Mozambique. Joint action between Portugal and England in the native question, the supply of arms, the sale of spirits, the suppression of the slave trade, and all that is included in progress and civilisation, would offer not merely a grand spectacle of harmonious action for the races placed within our influence, but secure such an increase of wealth as would amply repay all the trouble and expense incurred, and the transfer to the British Crown of the Transvaal territory affords an opportunity for the immediate consideration of these important questions.

On this question of development inland from the East, through Portuguese territory, as compared with influences from the South,

through the energy of men of the English race, I will give the following words from one of our Government reports: "On the Zambesi water communication exists, but nowhere else do the Portuguese attempt, as a rule, to penetrate the interior of Africa, neither do they avail themselves of the Angoxa, Moma, Kisungu, Busi, Sabia, Limpopo, King George's, or the Maputa rivers, all means of communication, for the extension of trade and the civilisation of the country; but, on the contrary, they do their very best to keep those rivers hermetically closed to lawful trade, in order to avoid prejudice to the Custom-houses they have established at a few scattered points, held upon the seaboard of the coast, over which they claim an entire sovereignty, but in reality exercise no jurisdiction, save over the fortified 'comptoirs' and on the Zambesi. As a result, in the district of Mozambique the slave trade is carried on from most of the rivers fronting Madagascar, because the returns are enormous, and one cargo run out of three or four gives a large profit, for the would-be legal trader who cannot afford to lose one venture out of twenty is driven, by the circumlocution and operation of Customs regulations he fails to understand, into slave trade in the hope of rapid gains, knowing that if denounced at Mozambique as doing a 'contraband lawful trade,' an opportunity will be watched for to seize and confiscate his dhow."

The future of Southern and Eastern Central Africa, to extend to the distant West as well as to the North, is to be developed on principles which have an interest to us all in England itself, as concerned in the whole Colonial Empire. For I may remind you of the words the noble earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies employed lately in the House of Lords. They have in them a prophecy as well as a conviction, quite in accord with the feelings of the members of this Institute, indicating a future, distant it may be, but still a future nearer than men care to believe. Lord Carnarvon said: "Nor can I see any reason why in the nature of things, and apart from those fugitive causes which do not belong to the fixed and unchanging principles of political life, the dependencies of the British Crown should, any more than any other States, be incapable of confederation. It is quite possible that confederation is only one stage in the political journey of the Empire, and that it may even lead in the course of time to a still closer union. But, be this as it may, the reason why I now urge this measure for the adoption of Parliament, is that such a principle of Confederation must add strength to these Colonies, give larger objects, a higher policy, a wider political life, and, as I earnestly hope, a better security for the right treatment of the native races. And, if

so, all this means greater prosperity and peace—a closer consolidation of Imperial interests. The English Empire is, no doubt, vast, various, and disconnected; and yet, when all allowance and deduction have been made, it is, I am prepared to maintain, one of the most wonderful pieces of human administration the world has ever seen, both in what it does and what it does not do. Other countries have founded Colonial Empires. France, Spain, and Portugal have left their mark on the Colonial history of the world, and yet as colonising powers they have virtually ceased to exist; and, among other reasons, for this, that they were founded upon a close principle of restriction. We have adopted a different system; we have discarded restrictions; we have looked to freedom of government as our ultimate object; and we have been rewarded by an almost immeasurable freedom of growth."

I shall trespass no longer upon the time which remains for the discussion of this subject, satisfied as I am that others better acquainted with the details will offer you more light upon the matter to which I have referred. It is enough for me that I have been allowed to state some considerations which may assist in the discussion of the present and the future of South Africa—a country in which I take a deep interest, and whose welfare and prosperity have been the object of continued concern to the members of the Royal Colonial Institute.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. FROUDE said he had attended there that evening not expecting to be called upon to say anything, but to listen to Mr. Donald Currie. It was difficult to limit what could be said to the customary ten minutes; and as to what he might wish to say, as it was on South Africa, he felt a little shy in speaking on the subject. As he was present, it was but natural that they would expect him to say something about his own short connection with that country; but there were difficulties to be encountered in going into the matter on account of the many sensitive points involved, on which it was undesirable to touch. Perhaps, however, they would allow him the opportunity of stating what passed between himself and Mr. Molteno when Mr. Molteno was in England last year. On his (Mr. Froude's) first visit to the Cape, Mr. Molteno was exceedingly kind to him—indeed, much more than kind—and afforded him every opportunity of seeing and hearing everything to be seen and heard, besides giving him the benefit of his (Mr. Molteno's) large knowledge of the Colony. He (Mr. Froude) certainly thought he had understood Mr. Molteno. But there had been points left imperfectly explained.

When he (Mr. Froude) went out again to the Cape there was a certain degree of misunderstanding which led to disagreements. When, however, Mr. Molteno was in England last year, he and Mr. Molteno came to a thorough understanding that there had been mutual mistakes ; that neither had intended in the slightest degree to do anything of which either had a right to complain ; and therefore they agreed not to go into any details. There, he would now wish to leave the matter with the words which Mr. Molteno used in parting with him, "All's well that ends well." He (Mr. Froude) was sure they must all thank Mr. Donald Currie for the careful and elaborate analysis he had given of the present state of South Africa. There was hardly a point he had left untouched, and it all showed a marvellous insight into the different races, the different interests, the large resources in all directions which admitted of being opened out. The different objects on which Mr. Currie had touched were so many that he could not attempt to follow him through. He would confine himself to one, on which Mr. Currie had entered with least detail ; he meant the native question. It derived importance from the recent great acquisition of the Transvaal territory. The white races in South Africa, he conceived, might have their little differences and difficulties in arriving at confederation or any other arrangement of their affairs which they might like to make ; but the white races in South Africa could be trusted to take care of themselves ; and there might be a little pushing and shoudering before parties fell into their natural places, but this was a matter of slight and secondary consideration. We had had rather to think of that enormous mass of people who were now subordinated to us, and for whom, by taking over that country, we had now made ourselves responsible—he alluded to the Zulu and other native tribes in the Cape Colony, and in Natal and in the Transvaal. He believed he was right in saying that, if all the natives were put together, it would be found that there were 400,000 in Natal, and about 800,000 more in the Cape Colony and its dependencies. There were nearly 200,000 in Basuto Land. In Kaffraria and in the Colony 500,000 or 600,000, and in Natal 400,000. In the Transvaal, by a stroke of Sir Theophilus Shepstone's pen, there had just been added about a million more ; and all round the Transvaal there were vast powerful native tribes, numbering it was difficult to say how many—there were probably a million and a half with whom we should be brought into immediate relations in consequence of the annexation. Those people we should not allow to make war any more, and thus keep their numbers from increasing. They were extremely prolific, and he asked what would

they be at the end of fifty years? There would be six or seven millions of them at least; and there lay a serious responsibility in us to discover by what means those people could be reclaimed from their present savagery and elevated into civilised communities. It would occupy a long time and was extremely intricate. They were not to be recovered in a few years, but by a series of laborious efforts, which would tax all the energies of the Imperial Government and the colonists alike. The nations of Europe had taken thousands of years to reach their present state; and it was not to be supposed that by simply making the black races free, by giving them equal rights and teaching them the multiplication-tables, that a change could be effected at once, which would put them on a level with the white races. It could not be done. Left to a mere collision of interests, they would go to the wall. There would be an inferior race and a superior race simply contending one against the other for the same objects, with what was called equal rights. He knew well what would become of all that. The weaker party would fall. Therefore there lay before us—whether under a system of Confederation or whatever it might be—one of the hardest problems, in the solution of which England must bear her share. It was their first duty. Beyond all questions of diamonds, gold diggings, and ostrich-breeding, this first duty was staring us in the face, what were to be our future relations with the native races in South Africa? Elsewhere those relations proved one of the saddest chapters in British history. One after another the inferior races with whom we had come in contact had died out before us. In the Zulus we have to deal with a noble, excellent people, a people that must not be allowed to perish, as the American Indians or the savages of Australia or New Zealand. In honour and conscience we must make an effort to preserve the Zulus. In some way or other the Zulu people would have to be dealt with; and he earnestly hoped that English people at home and in South Africa would recognise their obligation and try to fulfil it. In doing that duty the colonists would themselves receive a higher moral training; they would themselves become a greater people in endeavouring to accomplish a difficult work in an honourable way than if they had piled together the largest fortunes that were ever made in a British province, or could show more diamonds than ever grew in the garden of Aladdin.

SIR JOHN COODE did not expect to be called upon to say anything; he would, however, on the spur of the moment offer a few remarks. Mr. Donald Currie had been good enough to refer to his (Sir John Coode's) recent visit to South Africa in order to examine the coasts

for the Governments of the Cape Colony and of Natal. That he had done, and he hoped it would not be expected that he should enlarge upon that subject, because he must not now anticipate what he should have to say in official documents. He would only make a remark or two on some of the points which had fallen from Mr. Currie in the course of his paper—a remarkable paper, when it was remembered that the author had never visited that country. The two subjects which most attracted his attention as the most pressing wants of the Colony, were those of immigration and irrigation. The greatest of all wants of South Africa now was labour. That, he thought, no one who had visited the Colony for only a short period could doubt for a moment. He referred with satisfaction to the fact that the Cape Government were beginning to realise the importance of emigration. He was happy to think that that was so, and that at the port of East London—which was now in immediate connection by railway with an important and productive part of the Colony in the neighbourhood of King William's Town—the Government had erected a barrack, which was just finished at the time of his visit, the object of which barrack was to accommodate in its present state fifty Scotch families. The Government had arranged that those emigrants that went out in parties of fifty families at a time were in the first instance to be passed on into the interior; this was the commencement of what he hoped would eventually prove to be one of the greatest steps in the way of supplying labour for the cultivation of the soil in South Africa. As regarded irrigation, that, perhaps, was the next most important point imperially. During the last few years they had suffered very little from drought. Time was not very long ago when there was very great suffering in the Colony arising from successive dry seasons. But even in what was considered an ordinary season in South Africa there was a great lack of water at certain times of the year, and the total annual rainfall was, as a rule, not insufficient by any means. But inasmuch as those rains usually only fell during a few months in the year, there was great necessity for the construction of works for the storage of water, in order that it might contribute to the fertilisation of lands, and the production of crops, during the dry parts of the year. The Dutch themselves had done a great deal in that direction. He was sorry he had not been able to visit that district, which lay to the north of George Town, about the central part of South Coast. There was a district there called Oudtshoorn, where the Dutch had some most remarkable examples of what that country might be made to produce by proper irrigation. The Cape Government, not above two years since, engaged Mr.

Gamble, C.E., to take up the Department of Irrigation. This gentleman had been engaged in the Colony, and had made several reports ; but, as a matter of fact, very little had, he believed, been as yet done. The attention of Government had been directed to it, and he hoped they would be induced to promote in every way the construction of dams there to impound the water for the benefit of the Colony. Those were perhaps two of the most important questions affecting the Cape Colony at the present time. With regard to the introduction of arms, he was afraid that upon that point he should be obliged to differ from Mr. Donald Currie, for the mischief was to a great extent pretty well done. As respected Zululand, he had it from the highest authority that not only were the men well supplied with arms, but the women also, and the women practised and were most expert in their use. Whether that was for the sake of sport, or whether it be with the view to future mischief, he was unable to say, not having been able to obtain any satisfactory information on that point. But there remained the fact, and his authority, if he were to name it, would make it unquestionable, that both the men and women in Zululand did practise with fire-arms. Now in Kaffraria it was different. The ordinary Kaffir was a very thrifty individual ; they had a great passion for the possession of fire-arms, but did not care to expend money in the purchase of ammunition. He did not know that he had anything more to say with regard to the other matters touched upon in Mr. Currie's able paper. His attention during the time he was in the Colony was, he might say, entirely directed to the particular object for which he went out. But those points as to the necessity for emigration on a large scale, and the need for irrigation works, he could not dwell upon too strongly. He could foresee with a large emigration a marvellous future development of the productive power of the Colony if only the Government would introduce agricultural labour on a comprehensive scale, encourage that labour, and promote in some way, by loans or otherwise, the formation of dams, in order that the country might have the fullest possible benefit of the rains which fell from the heavens. (Cheers.)

Colonel CROSSMAN also expressed himself as not having expected to be called upon to address the meeting ; but as they had asked him to say some words upon the subject he should be glad to do so. The only part of Cape Colony that he knew anything about was—that just now about to be attached to it—Griqualand West. The diamond-fields there were sources of great wealth to the Colony, a very great source of wealth indeed, and they had been the means of introducing into the Colony a large number of people, who had

tended to the advancement of the country. He was glad that province was to be added to the Cape Colony, and he hoped, now that the Transvaal difficulty had been removed, that the whole of the other provinces, with the Orange Free State, would in a short time form part of a great South African Confederation, though no doubt the citizens of the Orange Free State were very happy as they were at present. He was in great hopes that before long that State would come into the Confederation, as he trusted all the provinces in South Africa would. For advancement in the future of Cape Colony they must have railways, harbours, and telegraphs. He thought they were doing all they could at present; at least, whatever difference there might be in opinion as regarded the direction in which the railways should be carried, there was no doubt that the Cape Government had before it the necessity of constructing railways all through the Colony; and whether they went through the Colony by Beaufort West or by any other route up to Griqualand West, and so on to the Transvaal, he thought it was one of the first things that ought to be done. As regarded harbours, Sir John Coode had been out there lately, and had gone into the question very carefully, and he must say that schemes for the improvement of Table Bay, Port Elizabeth, and the other harbours would be well worked out by so distinguished an engineer. As regarded also the question of irrigation, Mr. Gamble had gone out there lately, and he hoped the country would benefit by his reports. If the Cape Colony went on making railways, improving their harbours, carrying out irrigation works, &c., he was sure that, whatever expense might be incurred in doing so, it would be repaid hereafter. As regards other matters connected with the advancement of the Colony, it was not for him to say anything about things which were for the consideration of the colonists themselves. Mr. Froude had been to the Cape, and had done more probably than anyone else to teach the people how beneficial it would be for them to enter into some confederation scheme. He hoped there would be no jealousy between rival provinces as to which place should be chosen as the capital. Cape Town, no doubt the most important place at the present moment in the Cape Colony, looked forward to being so, but other growing provinces put in their claims. He might venture to suggest that as in Canada they fixed upon a small town on the river Ottawa as the capital of the Dominion, and as in the United States they took Washington as the chief place of the Republic, that the Cape Colonies might take into consideration whether it would not be advisable to choose some place in the interior fairly accessible to all, and so perhaps prevent any

jealousies which would be sure to arise if a larger place were selected. He concluded by remarking that he took a deep interest in the Cape Colony and South Africa generally, and he was sure that that portion of the British Empire was advancing and would advance as rapidly as any other part of Her Majesty's dominions.

Mr. Houston remarked that he was going to draw attention to what had been rather taken out of his mouth by Mr. Froude, for he always thought "the native question" was the most important for South Africa. Many people seemed to have an idea that South Africa could be made out of its various States, like Australia, New Zealand, or Canada. Now it seemed to him that that was entirely wrong. In all those Colonies the natives had been very few in number to begin with, and they had all died out. They had had the Anglo-Saxon race and all the resources requisite for colonising developed. But in South Africa, as pointed out by Mr. Froude, in the course of fifty years the black population would be three or four times as numerous as it was to-day. They were now numerous enough, and if we civilised them as one race, as was intended should be done, they must have land; and if the Kaffirs and all the black people had territory—for land was not unavailable for the white man, therefore, he considered—especially since the annexation of the Transvaal—the native question and the land question became intermixed. The only point which remained was, what population was it desirable to introduce? He was inclined to think that capitalists should be first secured, followed by an influx of the artisan class. As they pretended to be a colonising race, our object ought to be to civilise and make use of the black population for small shopkeepers, artisans, grooms, servants, and everything else. (Hear, hear.) Therefore it appeared to him that there was no very great field except in the immediate future, for European immigration into South Africa. As Mr. Froude pointed out, the question of the native race remained, with regard to civilising and making them perform the ordinary duties of life. The only other point to which he would allude was that people in this country seemed rather too much to talk about these Colonies as the Cape. Now, from Cape Town into the Transvaal was 1,400 miles as the crow flies, and everything in the Transvaal was very different from what was found in the Cape. There was so much time wasted in talking about South Africa, that he rather despaired of a solution being found; he rather despaired of the different questions concerning South Africa being settled until Confederation was brought about,—there were so many questions that could only be settled by a union Parliament. At present each

Colony and each different race had different ways; and thus the Anglo-Saxon race was split up in South Africa into sections. Each section looked at these questions from its own point of view. Therefore he thought that Confederation alone would settle those questions—to many of which allusion had been made that night. It became therefore very important that, instead of trying to settle those questions ourselves here, we should rather do all we could to forward Confederation, hoping that the Union Parliament would be strong enough—as he believed it would be—to settle their own affairs, including, also, the native affairs. Having been called upon unexpectedly to speak, those were about all the remarks he had to make. (Loud cheers.)

The Hon. EVELYN ASHLEY, M.P., said that without affectation it was an unexpected honour conferred on him to be called upon to speak. But as he believed he was the only member of the House of Commons present, it would not be out of place if he rose to thank Mr. Donald Currie for his interesting lecture that evening. It was a very useful address on a pressing question for the Legislature of the present day. Although our legislators were always anxious to do the best they could for the aid and prosperity of the Colonies, still he confessed that in a popular assembly like the House of Commons there was very great ignorance on many Colonial matters—(hear, hear)—especially in a case of this sort, which was not a simple question. Anybody who had heard the discussion that night would see that there were embraced in the question of South African confederation not only the jealousies of governing races, not only the disabilities of inferior races, not only what might be called the springs of free government and of material prosperity in the Colonies, but, above all, what were the urgent responsibilities which the Imperial Government must be called upon to undertake in helping to settle the question. Therefore a discussion like this was most useful in spreading information. Within the narrow limit of time allowed, and the equally narrow limits of his knowledge on this subject, it would be wrong to enter into it at any length. But he would say that he felt deeply convinced that the speakers that evening had touched upon the great difficulty we had before us—that was, the treatment of the native races. (Hear, hear.) What must be done when this question—as far as the discussion of it in the House of Commons was concerned—was to guard against running into either of the two dangerous extremes. We must avoid one extreme—namely, saying, “Throw open the whole basis of Government, and give the Kaffir and other tribes the franchise right and left.” (Hear, hear.) Nobody could

be more anxious than he to raise and improve the natives all the world over. But nobody could view that question without seeing that not only would a bad feeling be created between us and the Colony if such an extreme course were pursued, but great harm would also arise to the natives themselves. At the same time they must earnestly repudiate the other extreme, and never say that colour alone is to be a mark of disability. That would be contrary to our wishes and our duty, and would place a bar to the raising of the natives, which Mr. Froude and the last speaker had referred to as the objects we had to undertake. (Hear, hear.) To guide our course wisely and moderately between those two extremes must be the object of Her Majesty's loyal subjects on both continents. Now as to the difficulty of bringing those different States to unite in Confederation. It struck him, although with his limited knowledge he might be wrong, that one of the great difficulties must be the individual jealousies of newly-established communities, and the great dread of the leading men in each State of losing their position, so recently gained and so likely to be swamped by being submerged in a larger community. (Hear, hear.) If that was the case, he thought they might congratulate themselves that we had sent out to the Cape to superintend, if our hopes are realised, the formation of that Confederation, a man who united to highest tact the highest character for judgment—he alluded to Sir Bartle Frere. They might be sure that they could not have had a more admirably adapted man to carry out the objects for which he was sent, for he in an eminent degree combined with the largest views of an administrator that great sympathy for the native races which he (Mr. Ashley) declared must be the guiding star of our course. (Cheers.)

Mr. ANTHONY TROLLOPE said if they had postponed the discussion of this question for nine months, he might then, perhaps, be better able to address them than he now was ; for it was his fate to be going to entrust himself to the tender mercies of Mr. Donald Currie in the course of this month, whose ship he hoped would carry him safely to Cape Town, from which place it was his intention to endeavour to see something of those subjects which were before them, and to return home and in a humble way describe, not with his voice—for he was not much given to speaking—but with his pen—(cheers)—to tell them something which he only trusted would not be taken altogether for fiction. He had been happy to hear Mr. Donald Currie tell them they would find the annexation of the districts of South Africa, as well as the settlement of that great question which Mr. Ashley and the House of Commons were discussing

the previous night, could be carried out so satisfactorily. At any rate, he would endeavour to see the country and form a fair judgment of it. As he intended to go out with his mind blank, he should not express any opinion at all. If he had an opinion on the subject of annexation—if he had an opinion as to the merits or demerits of Sir Theophilus Shepstone—he should keep it to himself, so that when he came home, at the expiration perhaps of nine months, he might be able to ascertain and point out all about it without any preconceived ideas at all. He thought he might say, without pretending to have made up his mind on any vexed point, that with regard to the annexation of that country, whoever may have been wrong, whoever may have been unfortunate—whether England may have been unfortunate in having it annexed, whether Lord Carnarvon may have been unfortunate in authorising as far as he did annexation, whether Sir Theophilus Shepstone was unfortunate in annexing it, or whether the English or other colonists there had been unfortunate, he thought they all felt that for the multitude for which Mr. Froude had so eloquently pleaded the annexation must be fortunate. (Hear, hear.) He (Mr. Trollope) had visited all the large English-speaking countries now except that one, and no doubt the difficulty with regard to all those countries which had struck us with horror had been the fact that, in carrying out our instincts for civilising and utilising the countries which God had given us, we had never, with all our efforts and good intentions, been able to treat the natives in a manner which was wholly satisfactory. (Hear, hear.) Efforts were made on the grandest principles of philanthropy in New Zealand. When we first took New Zealand as our own we annihilated contracts which had been made by English men and by English communities, in order that the natives might there stand on their own soil, and be able to say—and in order that we might be able to say also—that they had been robbed of nothing and that we had deprived them of nothing. But we knew how terrible had been the fate of those natives. As Mr. Froude had said, they were dying out. In Australia they had died out; in Tasmania utterly, there was not one left. In New Zealand they were dying out so fast that in the most populous parts of the country there was hardly one. We knew what had been the fate of the unfortunate Indians over the territories which we owned, and of which the most populous part was held by our greatest colonists—the citizens of the United States. They were going, or had gone. But there was a race which we hope, and which every man in that room hoped—a race that need not go. (Hear, hear.) Now what we have to look after

was this, whether in annexing those countries that race would not have a better chance of insuring and living in prosperity and comfort, and enjoying the gifts of God—whether it would not have a better chance by the annexation of the districts than it would if they were divided as they had been and now were. (Hear, hear.) He did not intend to dwell on that subject, and only mentioned it as a point which, of all others, would be most interesting to him in the tour he was about to make. (Hear, hear.)

Mrs. AMELIA LEWIS said the last time she ventured to address the Royal Colonial Institute was on the occasion when Mr. Wilson read his very remarkable paper about our taking a larger interest and introducing into the Colonies those sustenances of which we make our happiness most at home. She had for some years past inquired into the whole causes of social combinations, and nothing had impressed her more than the vast influence which Colonial life must bring back again upon the home country—the home country going out with its influences on the new races, and the latter bringing sometimes one or the other to their new parents the influence back to home. In a few words, she had to plead against the dreadful ignorance which was existing in the whole country on the whole of the Colonial subjects. (Cheers.) She declared that the ignorance was so great that a boy who could tell what the Sabines of the old Roman history were sent for, could not tell about the grand races of which this little country, the small Anglo-Saxon race—excepting only the Greeks—the only nation that had successfully colonised the globe. (Hear, hear.) Why were not the people who came before our much-beloved country known about? It would give us more chance to know something than all the schools in the land taught. She instanced Oxford and Cambridge as no exception to the rule. She had had the pleasure of listening to an historical lecture at Oxford, about which lectures she thought she knew something. She was educated by an old, venerable man, who served as the first translator for this country at the Foreign Office, the late Mr. Hutton, through whom she had been introduced to knowledge from which she had benefited. She declared that it was necessary this country should be awakened to an appreciation of the education of the boys—and for that matter girls—and make them acquainted with the bearings of Colonial life, Colonial history, and what the Colonies brought to us. (Hear, hear.) Need she quote anything more than the beautiful words of Mr. Burke when he stood before the House of Commons and pronounced that remarkable speech of his on the reconciliation of North America, and recommended them at the beginning of last Session. He said:

“ You exported £86,000 to Africa ; at the end of about 100 years you had £866,000 ; what do you export now ? ” And as Mr. Fowler said, it was not a matter of exports only, it was also a matter of imports. There was wanted much that this country was neglecting—that is to say, cultivation, which was her study. (Hear, hear.) She had already sacrificed something for that, and she asserted that it was from the Colonies that they were to ask for much of the vigour which was got. (Hear, hear.) She declared that the subject which would have to be introduced was education, and she trusted the time would come when some great men would take up this question and would at once correct the way in which history was now taught in schools. We wanted living history. (Hear, hear.) Men and women that went out to those Colonies had to bear with a different climate from their own. Only a little while ago a father who had nurtured his daughter into the greatest nicety, sent a letter to the *Echo* newspaper to describe her retirement in South Africa, which no doubt had a large future. Her own ideas on South Africa were such that it was scarcely possible for them to be good enough and to recognise humbly the claims which that vast country demanded. Therefore she trusted her few words, if they only left an impression on a few of those men that had large influence, would convince them that the time had come when something should be done ; and something should emanate from that Society she was addressing, to make the working men and women and the public generally acquainted in a large sense, with the advantages of emigration to Africa ; they ought not to think that Africa meant, like a small paragraph in a daily newspaper would lead them to suppose, a place abounding with gorillas, but a glorious country. (Hear, hear.) It was, she assured them, a serious subject, and one upon which, traced to the highest and lowest society, the greatest ignorance prevailed. (Cheers.)

Mr. V. D. ARCHER (a native of Barbados) had listened to some very interesting speeches, and an admirable paper on South Africa—a subject in which he must necessarily be interested, being of African descent. He thought he could not on behalf of the Colonies better approve the sentiments expressed than by saying a few words in acknowledgment of such kindly expressions of sympathy towards people of the African race. He could not say very much about South Africa, not having been there, but with regard to the matter of the annexation (of the Transvaal) he thought there could be no doubt that it was one of the grandest things that could have been performed by the British Government, as it would for ever settle the question of slavery there. In the Transvaal, slavery had

existed in a somewhat disguised form for some time, and if now the British Government, who had put down slavery in their own Colonies, should take on themselves the duty of stopping it effectually in that quarter, that must, he thought, rather be regarded as a cause of triumphant congratulation to all interested in the welfare of the natives than otherwise. (Hear, hear.) He did not know what might be meant by Confederation from a political point of view; he did not pretend to understand much about it. If, however, it meant that all those States should be drawn together under one Government, and that that Government should be influenced by dictates of justice and humanity towards the people occupying those States, then he would say, let them have Confederation by all means. (Cheers.) That the civilised nations of the earth should, on going into other countries, and as civilised people, endeavour to depress the people of those countries, seemed to him altogether but the restoration of ideas of the state of barbarism which existed thousands of years ago. If they looked at the conduct of the Romans, who were the greatest conquerors earth had seen, it would be found that they tried to impress their civilisation on the nations they conquered; and so let England go forward—not to damp the energies of native races, but to aid them to rise to the standard of true men, to aid them to see that it was meant towards them and their kinsmen, that, equally as other men, they should enjoy the blessings of the earth, and be good and serviceable members of the communities to which they belonged. He knew well that there was always a conflict of the races. Whenever men of white complexions and men of black complexions met, there ever seemed to be a bone of contention between them. The one, from his superior civilisation, looked down upon the other, and that man who through his ignorance could not compete with the more intellectual individual had to give way. But the individual who was blessed with the greater knowledge had a duty before him, which was that it should be his object to extend a helping hand to his fellow-man, to lift him up from his degraded position in order that he might be even what the great God who made of one flesh and blood all the families of the earth intended him to be. He did not know what might be the future of South Africa, but if he could trust to the humanity and justice which had ever been manifested by the British Government in their dealings with the Colonies which in the providence of God had come under their power, he would say that there was a great future in store, not only for South Africa, but for Africa generally. He knew well that many thousands of people had been civilised and brought under the

rule of noble and high-souled government—such as the Government of England was—and he was confident that these people, elevated from the condition of ignorance in which they now existed, would form, not communities of subject races merely, but integral parts of the grand whole of the British Colonial possessions. (Loud cheers.)

Governor ROWE, C.M.G. (West African Settlements), said the subject of the treatment of the natives in South Africa was one of considerable interest to him. Of the South African Colonies he had no personal knowledge; but he had of the natives of Equatorial Africa, based upon an experience of years. The future of Africa, he believed, depended upon the action of the races that had lived there for centuries. The people who were going to cultivate Africa he believed were the aboriginal inhabitants, the negro people—the Hottentots, the black people who had lived in Africa probably for a longer period than our race in England; and the fact that those races did not disappear before the white man was a proof that some day they would cultivate Africa, and would develop its very many products for our use. (Hear, hear.) He did not believe for one moment that we should have any insuperable difficulty in dealing with them. There were, and would be always, difficulties in carrying out anything that was worth carrying out; but he felt sure that unless our race had altered very much, or did alter very much—if the ruling principle of England was animated by the same feelings of justice towards the negro that it had always been, and by that same firmness as well as fairness which was characteristic of our nation, we should get over all the difficulties which presented themselves to us, and the result would be that the black people of Africa would not be a source of weakness to us but a source of strength. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. VINCENT (member of the Legislative Assembly, Cape of Good Hope) said he was in the same position as the previous speakers: he came to listen, and might say with truth he had been an attentive and also a gratified listener to the able and interesting paper with which they had been favoured. It was peculiarly gratifying to him, as a colonist only recently arrived, to find so much interest evinced on Colonial questions. It was a striking proof to him that there was a strong and mutual desire to draw the bond of union now existing between the mother-country and the Colonies still closer—(hear, hear)—to consolidate that empire which, though small in point of territory at home, was large when they took into consideration the large, important, and extensive Colonial territory which opened up all round. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Donald Currie had been

good enough to speak in hopeful and cheering terms of the future of Africa. He thanked him for the kind and encouraging tone in which he had spoken of that great, and he might say important, continent, and trusted that his hopes might be realised—realised by the industry and by the enterprise of the colonists, and stimulated by cordial sympathy from the mother-country, and that those high and lofty views to which Mr. Donald Currie had referred so eloquently might be a guide for the future. (Hear, hear.) Whenever African matters were discussed, the native question naturally always was prominently brought forward; and when that question was mentioned it was almost invariably called the “native difficulty.” Now that term not inaptly expressed the condition of public opinion with reference to this difficult and intricate matter; but he might say that they at the Cape had been hitherto singularly fortunate in their native policy. For upwards of a quarter of a century the colonists at the Cape had lived in peace and security, and during that period neither the Imperial or Colonial forces had been engaged in actual warfare on the immediate Colonial borders. During that time, too, the colonists had considerably increased in numbers and wealth, and large tracts of country which were previously occupied by restless tribes were now in the occupation of industrious and thriving farmers. That was also the case with the natives immediately bordering on the Colonial boundary. It was found that amongst those tribes, many who formerly existed entirely by means of the chase and by raids into neighbouring districts, had now taken to tilling the soil and had become producers, and in consequence of their contact with white men had also been stimulated into habits of industry, and had acquired greater thrift and a strong desire to improve their position; the consequence being, that there was a greater disposition among those natives to go into the Colony to supply that great want so often referred to—labour. (Hear, hear.) There had been a striking instance in connection with the railway works recently undertaken by the Cape Colony. When first those works began it was found impossible to get any of the natives beyond the border to engage for service on them. Now that had been quite changed, and he was informed a few days before his departure from the Cape by the Minister of Works, that he could get more Kaffirs now than he could immediately employ on the works of the railway. (Hear, hear.) It was not only in this direction that improvement had taken place; but almost every year the Colonial boundaries were being extended, and frequent applications made to the local Legislature for the incorporation of certain tracts of land which

had not been acquired by conquest or by forcing out the natives ; but those incorporations took place in consequence of voluntary and spontaneous requests made by various native chiefs and by their immediate followers to be placed under the care and protection of the Colonial Government. He thought those two facts which he had mentioned were striking proofs that thus far the Colonial policy had not been without fruit. Now, it might be asked what that native policy was. Well, it was difficult to define, and, moreover, time would not permit him to do so that night ; in the second place, it would be almost impossible strictly to define the native policy of the Cape, which was to a certain extent regulated and guided by circumstances, and by the condition of the different tribes with which they had to deal. He might say that the guiding principle which underlay all their intercourse and transactions with those tribes was as much as possible to obtain the confidence of the people—to gain their confidence by the strict justice of their rule, and also, after the annexation had been consented to and completed, as far as possible to reduce the power of the chiefs and to break up the tribal rights, and to endeavour to substitute Colonial magistrates and English laws for tribal laws and native customs. Those were the leading principles of the native policy of the Cape, which thus far he could say had been successful. In advocating that policy, which had been truly called a liberal policy, it must not be supposed, however, that he was advocating what was termed sometimes in the Colony “the Exeter Hall policy.” He did not think it necessary there to describe that policy ; it was one which he believed was dying out fast. Yet people were found here, most estimable, kind-hearted, well-meaning people, who to some extent very often looked upon the black man in every instance as an angel of light as compared with the colonists, whom they too frequently viewed as resentless and cruel oppressors. He was happy to think that those views were no longer in the ascendant, as they were a little while ago ; nor could he help thinking that if such opinions were held they were calculated to injure the natives themselves. They were cruel and unjust in the first place, because they not unnaturally exasperated the colonists, and very often led them to commit acts which, as it were, were forced upon them by such injustice ; but, on the other hand, it was more cruel still towards the native, because it placed him in a false position, inflated him unduly, and rendered him proud and unmanageable ; and the consequence was that very often in self-defence the colonists, who, it must be remembered, had long odds against them, were in some instances

almost forced to wage what had been termed a war of extermination upon the poor natives. Now this we should wish and endeavour to avoid at the Cape of Good Hope. It certainly could not be the mission or the destiny of the white man to exterminate the coloured races, and if it was possible that the difficult and great problem could be solved in South Africa of utilising the original races there it would be a great boon to all. He desired to make a few remarks on the subject of Confederation, although he had not nearly exhausted the subject of the native policy. Confederation was a great question, and so important as to require most mature consideration. He was rather struck by some remarks which he had heard that evening. They led him to believe that Confederation was already looked upon here as an accomplished fact, speakers having repeatedly spoken of "The Confederate States of South Africa." Now that, he thought, was not desirable. They, as colonists, would like to deal with the question in their own way and take their own time. Although they had been officially assured time after time that there was no desire whatever on the part of the Home Government to press this question upon them, still he could not help drawing his own conclusions from remarks heard that evening, which led him to believe that there was a tendency—though not actually expressed, perhaps—but a strong tendency unduly to press this question upon the colonists, a thing he did not think it desirable should be done. When Confederation was spoken of they were constantly told that union was strength. There was no denying so patent a fact: union was certainly strength; but then it should also be a true and perfect union—(hear, hear)—where the parts fitted well together, where they were not forced nor squeezed together, but where they formed a compact whole. (Hear, hear.) Now, just look for a moment at the condition of South Africa. The Cape Colony had only for a few years enjoyed the rights of self-government. Only five years ago an important change was made in its constitution by the introduction of responsible government. That system was only now being successfully worked. The Cape Colony had, moreover, a revenue of a million and a half sterling. Now when they went to Natal they found a small Colony where the Constitution had been considerably curtailed of late by the action of the Home Government, while the revenue at present was very small compared with that of the Cape. They next came to the Transvaal, now in a state of transition, with scarcely any revenue just now, and at present, he might say, under quasi-military rule. Then there was Griqualand West. That would soon be no more than a

district, or what would be called in this country, a county. Then there remained the Orange Free State, a small territory with a revenue of about £100,000, or about a fiftieth portion of that of the Cape of Good Hope. Now these provinces the Cape was at present asked to confederate with ; and he put it to the meeting whether, as a colonist of the Cape Colony, he was not justified in saying that they certainly required a little time to consider before they threw in their lot under a federal form of government with other States. (Hear, hear.) He was strong in the view that union was certainly desirable, and union would come before long ; but it often occurred to him that they might very advantageously secure a yet more perfect union than a confederation, and that was what he would term a legislative union. (Cheers.) When the size of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope was taken into consideration, its improvement and wealth when compared with the other provinces, then he thought it would be far more advantageous for all concerned to have a legislative union, such as was originally contemplated when the first Conference was held of the delegates of the North American Colonies. He had not referred to the South African Permissive Bill now passing through the British Parliament, because in the first instance it was a strictly Permissive Bill, so that no Colony or Province need accept any of its provisions, and in the second place because important alterations had been made in the first-draft Bill, and which alterations he had not had an opportunity of considering, and was therefore not prepared to express an opinion thereon. He might, however, say that he did not believe that the Cape Colony would accept any Bill which was calculated to curtail any of the political privileges which it now enjoyed. The Cape colonists were truly loyal. He need not repeat that. Every British Colony contained none but loyal subjects, but they were also British subjects, and as such they valued and cherished their free representative institutions. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. LAMPORT, of Natal, said he should take the liberty to say a few words, because there was on that map (pointing) a country which had occupied a considerable share of the paper read, and which country he happened to represent. He had been a colonist for about twenty-seven years, and claimed to know something of South Africa and the circumstances of that Colony. He desired, however, to say one word on behalf of Natal on one particular point, and he took leave to preface it by remarking that, with respect to the subject of the paper which had been read, he wished to impress upon the meeting with more precision than had been

done by the essayist, one point. They would never do any good with the native races, as regarded Natal, or as respected colonisation generally, until they could offer at the outset protection and security. Without that all would be perfectly in vain. He reminded them that Mr. Froude had said that the native races could be counted almost by millions, and that in the Colony of Natal 400,000 natives were present. He had reminded them also that the adjoining country, Zululand, that Cetchwayo had from 28,000 to 40,000 men under arms who could be called upon immediately, who were under military training, organised in regiments, and in readiness at a moment's notice. The one point he (Mr. Lamport) would impress upon the meeting would be to use their influence with the Government to give it protection. He would fall back upon his experience and make good his position in this way. In Natal proper they had about 150,000 natives in their midst, and notwithstanding they had all those elements—those formidable people of the Zulu—it would scarcely be believed that after all the years that had elapsed, the British Government had only maintained in the Colony of Natal for their protection a paltry half-wing of a regiment. When the inadequacy of that protection was first tested, an appeal took place three years ago under the terrors of Langelibalele. The force at the command of the Government was utterly inadequate for the purpose; they simply had half a regiment, about 120 men all told, and could not move up 200 troops, not having the requisite force to back them up, and the volunteers they could muster were something under 100 strong; and they only had two small field-pieces to go with them, all of which provoked from the natives manifestations of ridicule and contempt. He remembered a man remarking to him when this force marched through the streets of Zoelberg: "They go, but they'll not come back again." In the lamentable affair with Langelibalele there were only about fifty volunteers, and they dwindled down to forty-two. Therefore he would say that, before they could inspire a feeling of security, they must offer protection. It was true that, connected with that affair with Langelibalele, Sir Garnet Wolseley was sent out—whose name he respected—and he made painstaking inquiries in the Colony; but it only resulted in their sending out another half-wing of a regiment. He remembered, also, that there was an agent sent out—a painstaking man—with General Cox to report on the defences of the Colony for the benefit of the war which Sir Garnet Wolseley was then carrying on. He was called upon to fill up a printed form as a justice of the peace, and he remembered sending in his report. He met Mr.

Froude at Sir Garnet Wolseley's table and outside the cathedral, and expressed to him those feelings in which all concurred, of the utter inadequacy of the volunteer force to defend the place. Therefore it was the important duty of the British Government to maintain in those districts a force sufficient to inspire a sense of security. He heard it said that they must not depend upon England, but upon volunteers, and the military force must be supplemented by conscription, in which everyone from fourteen to sixty would be capable of bearing arms. He would say, as the result of his opinion, that Confederation was nothing. He had always described it as a piece of diletanteness. They would never be able to get a council of men together, and they would be able to do nothing when they did get together. Had they concurred, and had there been Confederation, what would they do? There were two small republics and half a regiment, which would have to be broken up into two—one for the Transvaal; then they would have left the British territory without any protection, which was carrying out the principle of *reductio ad absurdum*, leaving such a contemptible little force as would be no protection whatever. (Hear.)

The PRESIDENT said: Ladies and gentlemen, I will only say a few words. I was greatly struck by the ability of Mr. Donald Currie's paper, especially from the local colouring that he had given it, although he has never been in the Colony. He touched on a vast number of points, which have led to a most interesting and instructive discussion. (Hear, hear.) Many of those points are of considerable importance; and perhaps I might suggest to Mr. Vintcent that no doubt the gentleman who talked of Confederation as "being already accomplished" had been contemplating the great advantages that he hoped would follow on confederation, and had looked upon the prospect of such a thing in his mind's eye so long, that at last the wish became the father of the thought, and he fancied that that confederation perhaps may still be brought about, though Mr. Vintcent and also Mr. Lamport do not think it advisable to have it spoken of as if it were already *un fait accompli*. With regard to Mr. Trollope, who has said he was more practised with the pen than the tongue, we must thank him for having made an exception in our favour by addressing to us a most instructive speech. (Hear, hear.) I should have fancied, though he has been in the country, that he would have spoken in more favourable terms of the position and prospects of the Maori race. From what I have heard I thought they were showing a considerable amount of civilisation. Certainly there is nothing in the conduct of England or of the English settlers in New Zealand to lead to their

annihilation and extinction; in fact, I have heard glowing accounts of the Maori women walking about the streets of the town in silk dresses and fashionable bonnets and smoking pipes with all the grace of French ladies. With regard to the Red Indians in North America, I am afraid our cousins over the line have not behaved with consideration to the Red Indians in their territory, but I believe in Canada they are not only well treated by the Government but by the settlers. The Government have, in the wisest and most far-seeing manner, settled them in communities on small territories of their own, and of which they are not allowed to dispose, and no man of the white race is allowed to settle amongst them. Even the Sioux, who have been in rebellion against the United States, have taken refuge on the British side of the borders, where, I believe, they often become quiet if not settled residents. (Hear, hear.) But certainly the question of the greatest importance was the one alluded to principally by Mr. Froude—that was the vast mass of natives, of able-bodied and intelligent men, that we have now to deal with, and the increasing number of whom we shall have to deal with as we progress on that continent, and also whose numbers will increase by the blessing of good government which we enforce upon those countries. It seems to me rather a terrible prospect. Mr. Vincent held out hopes that they are acquiring civilisation and are working for their livelihood. When I was at the Cape, now some thirty-three years ago—no doubt things are much changed since then—but at that time nobody ever thought that a Kaffir would work to better himself permanently. It was then said that the Kaffir might work for a few shillings, and as soon as he got home he went back to a missionary station to live upon those shillings till they had gone; but I am glad to hear they are acquiring tastes and habits of civilisation. Another point referred to was irrigation. That undoubtedly is most important for the Colony. I know that it has a rich soil, and that the strength of the sun dries it up till it is like a macadamised road, and it is utterly impossible to grow anything without showers, and yet there had been ample falls of rain, which, judiciously stored, would render the country fruitful. Colonel Crossman alluded to the difficulty about the capital. With respect to that, I do not think Cape Town need ever be afraid, even though it should not be the political capital, of losing its supremacy. From its geographical position it must always be an important military station; and I hope our Government will also take the advice of Captain Colomb, and that the United Kingdom and the Colonies will undertake at some time to protect those important

points he referred to in his able paper read here last meeting, by forming dockyards and by having the proper means of coaling and revictualling our ships of war, and fortifying such stations; and in that event Cape Town and Simon's Bay could not be neglected. With regard to Confederation and the annexation of the Transvaal, I was this afternoon looking at some Transvaal newspapers sent to me, and I gathered from them that the annexation seems to have gone off in the most satisfactory and successful way. (Hear, hear.) It appears that those who approve of the measure carefully avoid expressing any exultation that they might feel, so as to avoid giving offence to the other side. Those who object to it seem to accept it with very great resignation and with very little reluctance indeed. I beg now to offer our thanks to Mr. Donald Currie for the trouble he has taken in preparing his admirable paper. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. DONALD CURRIE, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, said: My Lord Duke, ladies, and gentlemen,—I feel highly gratified by the kind terms in which your Grace has proposed the thanks of the meeting. I would only add one word with respect to Mr. Vincent's able remarks. If he had been present at the banquet which was given to Sir Bartle Frere before leaving for the Cape, he would have heard from Lord Carnarvon that Her Majesty's Government had no intention to interfere with the privileges of the colonists. The Bill is a Permissive Bill in its spirit and object. (Hear, hear.) It was sent to the Colonies and States of South Africa with the distinct intimation that they were to give their opinions upon its clauses. Many gentlemen here heard Lord Carnarvon express in the strongest terms possible that it was quite erroneous to suppose that he intended in any sense to curtail the liberty of the colonists, or to take away their rights under responsible government. (Hear, hear.) As regards roads and the opening up of South Africa and Eastern and Central Africa, it was with the greatest pleasure I had the honour this afternoon, after my paper was finished, to receive from the Royal Geographical Society an intimation that they wished to open out roads from the South and from the Eastern side of Africa into the interior, and had arrangements in progress for an Exploration Fund. The Royal Geographical Society have appointed a Committee with the view to plan a systematic exploration from the different points on the coast, and we may look for the best results to that continent. (Applause.)

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG (Hon. Secretary) announced that this meeting was the concluding one of the series for the present Session.

The company then separated.

CONVERSAZIONE.

THE Fourth Annual Conversazione was held on Wednesday, June 13th, 1877, at the South Kensington Museum.

It was more numerously attended than that of the previous year, and as thoroughly representative of the various portions of the Empire.

Among distinguished foreigners who were present were members of the Chinese and Japanese Embassies, and His Excellency Midhat Pasha, ex-Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire.

The band of the Grenadier Guards, under the direction of Mr. Dan Godfrey, played during the evening a well-selected programme of music.

Refreshments were served in the usual department.

The following lady and gentlemen kindly lent valuable objects of interest for exhibition during the evening: Miss North, a collection of her paintings in the West Indies, South America, &c.; Donald Currie, Esq., C.M.G., drawings by Turner and paintings by Sir Joshua Reynolds and David Cox, also a nugget of gold weighing 118 ounces from the Transvaal; the Agents-General for South Australia and Queensland, and Samuel Deering, Esq., contributed paintings and photographs of Colonial scenery; and the Canada Company, a case of North American birds.

In the unavoidable absence of His Grace the President, the company were received by the following Members of the Council: Major-General Sir H. C. B. Daubeney, K.C.B.; Sir Charles Stirling, Bart.; Sir George MacLeay, K.C.M.G.; Sir Charles Clifford; H. W. Freeland, Esq.; A. R. Campbell-Johnston, Esq.; H. J. Jourdain, Esq.; F. P. Labilliere, Esq.; Gisborne Molineux, Esq.; Jacob Montefiore, Esq.; H. E. Montgomerie, Esq.; Alexander Rivington, Esq.; S. W. Silver, Esq.; J. D. Thomson, Esq.; William Walker, Esq.; Leonard Wray, Esq.; J. Dennistoun Wood, Esq.; James A. Youl, Esq., C.M.G.; and the Honorary Secretary, Fred. Young, Esq.

The following is a list of those present:—

The Bishop of Antigua and Miss
Jackson
Major-General Sir James Alexander,
K.C.B.

General G. G. Alexander, C.B.
Dr. and Miss Abud
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Mr. and Mrs. Gavan Anderson

Mr. and Mrs. Austin (Sydney)
 Mr. William Annand, Agent-General
 for Canada, and lady
 Mr. and Mrs. John A'Deane (New
 Zealand)
 Mr. Charles E. Atkinson and lady
 Mr. George Armytage and lady (Mel-
 bourne)
 Mr. H. E. Acton and lady
 Miss Aitken
 Miss Meta Aitken
 Miss Abernethy
 Miss Abbott
 Miss Althof
 Mr. H. Brettingham Adams
 Mr. Edward Aavenhaquen
 Mr. Alexander
 Mr. Andrew
 Mr. Ayliff

Sir Henry Barkly, K.C.B., G.C.M.G.,
 Lady, and Miss Barkly
 Colonel Sir Thomas Gore Browne,
 K.C.M.G., C.B., and lady
 Sir Arthur Blyth, K.C.M.G. (Agent-
 General for South Australia) and
 Lady Blyth
 General Bradford
 Captain and Mrs. Brofft
 Captain James Brown, R.N., and
 Miss Brown
 Dr. Brace
 Dr. Buchanan and lady (New Zea-
 land)
 Mr. and Mrs. Harley Bacon
 Mr. and Mrs. M. Benjamin
 Mr. and Mrs. C. N. Burton
 Mr. and Mrs. Braithwaite
 Mr. and Mrs. William Brand
 Mr. and Mrs. Blaikie
 Mr. and Mrs. Bennett (Newfound-
 land)
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 Kong) and lady
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 and lady
 Mr. J. Barrett and lady
 Mr. A. S. Birch and lady (New
 Zealand)
 Mr. S. B. Browning and lady (New
 Zealand)
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 Mr. Henry Beit and lady (Sydney)
 Mr. A. H. Bowler and lady
 Mr. Thomas Baynes and lady (An-
 tigua, W.I.)
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 bourne)
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 The Lady Charlotte Bacon
 Mrs. Harrington Brown

Miss Benjamin
 Miss Brand
 Miss Brainsfuther
 Miss Brettingham
 Miss Barry
 Miss Blake
 Miss Bryoe
 Miss Bate
 Mr. C. A. Blaine
 Mr. Alfred Bentley
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 Mr. G. Bourgargnon
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 Mr. Burgess
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 and Mrs. Colomb
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 Curling
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 Mr. F. Chesman and lady
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Mr. Stewart Douglas and lady

Mr. F. A. Du Croz and lady

Mr. and Mrs. F. G. Dalgety

Mr. W. T. Deverell and lady (Victoria)

Mr. William Duncan and lady

Mrs. Dawson

Mrs. Norwich Duff and the Misses Duff (2)

Miss Davis

Miss Alice Drane

Major and Miss Evans

The Hon. J. Augustus Erskine

Mr. J. D. G. Engleheart and lady

Mr. and Mrs. James English and Miss English

Mr. and Mrs. Ebdon

Mr. Henry Evans

Mr. and Miss Evans

Mrs. Eddy

Mrs. Eaton

Mr. Eddisbury-Baugh

The Right Hon. Sir James Fergusson, Bart., K.C.M.G., and Lady Fergusson

The Right Hon. Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, G.C.S.I., and Miss Fitzgerald

The Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., Mrs. Forster, and Miss Arnold

The Rev. Dr. Donald Fraser and Miss Fraser

The Rev. Pastor Frost

Mr. and Mrs. Fry

Mr. Sandford Fleming, C.M.G., and Mrs. Fleming (Canada)

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K.C.B., and Lady Lysons

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The Rev. J. Long

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Madame Lagrave

Miss Elize Linnburne

Miss Marie Lindwurn

Miss Lehmann

Mr. P. M. Lawe

Mr. W. Life

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(Governor of Jamaica), and Lady Musgrave

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Miss Miles

Miss Edith Miles

Miss MacFie

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Miss Moore

Miss Blanche Moore

Miss Mackie

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Mr. R. B. Mackie

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Mr. Arthur Milson

Mr. Justin H. MacCarthy

Mr. Mowbray Morris

Miss Nugent

Mr. R. V. Newman

Mr. Nabeshima

Dr. Ord

Mr. J. L. Ohlson and lady

The Right Rev. Bishop Perry and
Mrs. Perry

Captain and Miss Palliser

Captain Petrie and lady

Captain Bedford Pim, R.N., M.P.

Captain Parkinson

Dr. W. R. Pugh and lady (Victoria)

The Rev. E. B. Prince and Mrs.
Prince

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Mr. and Mrs. Pigott

Mr. and Mrs. John M. Prince

Mr. John S. Prince and lady

Mr. George Peacock and lady

Mr. Arthur Campbell Praed and lady

Mr. John C. Paget and lady

Mr. Richard Philpott and lady

Mrs. Perrin

Mrs. Price

Miss Prince

Miss Parry

Miss Lotie Pates
 Mr. H. Phillips
 Mr. C. M. Peacock
 Mr. George Piers (Cape Colony)
 Mr. Charles Piers (Cape Colony)
 Mr. B. N. Power
 Mr. E. Phazazyen

Mr. and Mrs. Quin

Sir John Rose, Bart., K.C.M.G.
 (Canada)
 Surgeon-Major Samuel Rowe, C.M.G.,
 and lady (Governor of the West
 African Settlements)
 The Right Rev. Bishop Ryan, and
 Rev. Mr. Ryan
 Dr. and Mrs. Rae
 Mr. and Mrs. Rose
 Mr. and Mrs. Giffard Ransford
 Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Rivington
 Mr. and Mrs. David Rodgers
 Mr. W. Fraser Rae and lady
 Mr. George Russell and lady (Sydney)
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 Mr. Purvis Russell and lady (New
 Zealand)
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 Mr. Bruce Russell

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 Stirling
 Admiral and Mrs. Stirling
 M. le Viscomte Ernest de Satje St.
 Jean and lady
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 Mr. and Mrs. Henry F. Shipster
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 Mr. L. C. Stevenson and lady
 Mr. H. Sandham and lady
 Mr. James Stevens and lady
 Mr. G. J. Symons and lady

Mr. F. W. Stone and lady (Canada)
 Mr. Andrew Stein and lady
 Hon. Mrs. Sinclair
 Mrs. Alexander Stuart (Sydney)
 Mrs. Steel
 Mrs. Shute and Miss Shute
 Miss Stevenson
 Miss Stewart
 Miss Stein
 The Misses Sumners (2)
 Miss Sloane Stanley
 Miss Bambridge Smith
 Miss R. Bambridge Smith
 Mr. George Robert Stevenson, Pre-
 sident of the Institution of Civil
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 Mr. S. W. Silver
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 Mr. Herbert Scales
 Mr. Arthur Stein
 Mr. H. B. Sealy
 Mr. Oscar de Satjé

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 Lady Torrens (South Australia)
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 (South Australia)
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 Zealand)
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 (South Australia)
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 Mr. Frederick Tooth and lady
 Mr. and Mrs. J. Duncan Thomson
 (Cape of Good Hope)
 Miss Thomson
 Miss Ethel Thomson
 Miss Elsie Thomson
 Mr. A. L. Thrupp
 Mr. Tatham

Mr. Fredinand Unna and lady

Major and Mrs. Vereker
 Mr. and Mrs. Adrian Vander-Byl
 Mr. P. G. Vander-Byl (Consul-General
 for the Orange Free State) and
 Mrs. Vander-Byl
 Mr. and Mrs. Vincent (Cape Colony)
 Mr. Ventris

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 Wellealey
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Mr. Dennistoun Wood and lady
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Miss Westgarth
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Miss A. Wilson
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Youl
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lady
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Miss Youl
Miss Florence Youl
Miss Grace Youl
Mr. Sidney Young
Mr. Arthur Lyttelton Young
Mr. C. J. Youl

NINTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

THE Ninth Annual General Meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute was held at the Rooms, 15, Strand, on Friday, 29th June, 1877, at 8 o'clock, p.m.

The chair was taken by the President, His Grace the Duke of MANCHESTER, K.P.

The following Fellows attended :—

Sir Henry Barkly, K.C.B., G.C.M.G.; Sir Charles Wingfield, K.C.S.I., C.B.; Sir Charles Clifford; Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M.P.; Jacob Montefiore, Esq.; James A. Youl, Esq., C.M.G.; H. W. Freeland, Esq.; Dr. John Rae; W. C. Sargeaunt, Esq., C.M.G.; William Walker, Esq.; W. G. Lardner, Esq.; J. W. Sauer, Esq., M.L.A. (Cape); George Peacock, Esq.; Colonel T. St. L. Alcock; P. G. Vander Byl, Esq.; Captain J. C. R. Colomb, R.M.A.; Henry Hall, Esq.; F. P. Labilliere, Esq.; H. J. Jourdain, Esq.; A. R. Campbell-Johnston, Esq.; J. S. O'Halloran, Esq.; Edmund Trimmer, Esq.; H. B. T. Strangways, Esq.; G. Molineux, Esq.; G. R. Godson, Esq.; S. W. Silver, Esq.; H. E. Montgomerie, Esq.; William Gilbert, Esq.; J. V. H. Irvin, Esq.; and the Honorary Secretary.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG (Hon. Secretary) read the notice announcing the meeting, which had appeared in two of the daily papers.

The PRESIDENT then nominated Mr. Jacob Montefiore and Dr. Rae, scrutineers of the ballot for the Members of the Council to be elected at the meeting.

The minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read by the HONORARY SECRETARY, and confirmed.

The PRESIDENT then read the Annual Report, which had previously been circulated among the Fellows :—

REPORT.

The Council have much satisfaction in laying before the Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute their Ninth Annual Report, in which they are able to present a review of the gratifying progress made by the Society during the past Session, and of the increasing influence

which it has been the means of exercising in promoting the important objects for which it exists.

Besides the ordinary business of the Session, the Council have specially directed their attention to the promotion of the establishment of an Imperial Museum for the Colonies and India upon the Victoria Embankment. In furtherance of this important object the Council have, besides assisting in the distribution of numerous publications giving information on the subject, communicated with the Governments of the various Colonies of the Empire, as well as with many important public bodies, among others all the principal Town Councils and Chambers of Commerce in the United Kingdom.

The responses have been very favourable and highly encouraging, indeed, so much so, that the Council may fairly hope that if the site on the Embankment was promised by the mother-country conditionally on the Colonial Governments finding the funds for the erection of the building, they would readily co-operate in the establishment of a great Imperial Museum, the value of which to the individual Colonies represented in it would only be equalled by its national importance. That the value of having such a Museum in such a central position of the metropolis of the Empire is widely appreciated, is abundantly evidenced by the fact that a large number of the leading Town Councils and Chambers of Commerce have memorialised the Government in favour of the project, which has also been powerfully supported, in the City of London, by a very influential and representative meeting at the Mansion House, presided over by the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor.

The Council must repeat their conviction that the success or failure of any attempt to establish an Imperial Museum for the Colonies and India depends mainly, if not entirely, upon the site being selected in a central position accessible to all classes of residents in, and of visitors to, London; and no site can so completely answer all requirements as the one indicated.

The Council have under consideration, from time to time, various proposals and suggestions for rendering the Institute more thoroughly efficient, and for building it up to the measure of perfection to which there seems little doubt it will attain; but, as they have not yet the command of the means which the steadily increasing number of members ultimately promises to give them, they are not able to effect all at once a number of improvements in the organisation of the Institute, which would necessarily entail a large increase of expenditure.

One of the wants of the Society which was for some time most pressingly felt has, however, been supplied since the last Annual

Meeting, namely, the issue of a report of the paper read, and of the discussion thereon, immediately after each Ordinary General Meeting. This publication—which is in no way intended to interfere with the issue of the Volume of Proceedings at the close of each Session—has been satisfactorily arranged with the proprietors of *The Colonies* newspaper.

The Council have to congratulate the Fellows upon the success with which they have been able to carry out the arrangement of the programme of Papers, whereby each division of the Colonial Empire has the advantage of having an evening devoted to it. The Council feel the importance of this course being as nearly as possible pursued every Session.

The Ordinary Meetings have without exception been largely attended by ladies and gentlemen, who have been present in far greater numbers than in any previous year. The discussions have been well sustained, and have been on two occasions adjourned, so that a larger number of meetings has to be reported this Session than in any previous one. The following is the list of the Papers given at the Ordinary General Meetings. Several of them treat of questions of the highest and most pressing importance:—

1. On the Benefits to the Colonies of being Members of the British Empire. By J. Dennistoun Wood, Esq.

2. Canada; as I Remember it, and as it is. By Rev. Donald Fraser, D.D.

3. Fallacies of Federation. By Wm. Forster, Esq., Agent-General for N.S. Wales. (The discussion on this paper occupied two evenings.)

4. The Colonies and the English Labouring Classes. By John Plummer, Esq.

5. The Climates of the Various British Colonies. By G. J. Symons, Esq., Hon. Secretary of the Meteorological Society.

6. The Present Position of the West India Colonies. By Nevile Lubbock, Esq.

7. Imperial and Colonial Responsibilities in War. By Captain J. C. R. Colomb, R.M.A. (The discussion on this Paper occupied two evenings.)

8. Thoughts upon the Present and Future of South Africa and Central and Eastern Africa. By Donald Currie, Esq., C.M.G.

The number of Fellows elected during the Session has been 121—88 Residents and 33 Non-Residents. This is 20 more than were elected during the previous Session.

From the Hon. Treasurer's statement, it appears that the

expenditure for the year has slightly exceeded the income, but this excess is sufficiently accounted for by exceptional causes.

The Council have to thank an increasing number of donors for valuable gifts presented to the Institute. Among those which demand special attention are the presentation to the Library by the Governments of South Australia and Queensland, of complete sets of their published Parliamentary and Official Papers. The Commissioner representing South Australia at the Philadelphia Exhibition has also kindly left at the Institute some valuable specimens which had been exhibited there.

During the past Session the Council has had to regret the death of F. S. Dutton, Esq., C.M.G., late Agent-General for South Australia, who was a member of the Council; and A. R. Roche, Esq., one of the Founders, and the first Honorary Secretary of the Institute.

The Annual Conversazione, which each year proves more and more attractive as a representative gathering of ladies and gentlemen coming from, or interested in, the various dominions of the Empire, has this year taken place with more than ordinary success.

In conclusion, the Council feel encouraged, by the continued progress of the Institute hitherto, to increase their efforts, to promote whatever may tend to make it more completely efficient as an agency for diffusing information respecting the whole British Empire, and, above all, for developing those principles and sentiments which have for their object the maintenance of those harmonious and friendly relations of all its portions upon the basis of their permanent union as one nationality.

By Order,

FREDERICK YOUNG,

Hon. Sec.

June, 1877.

LIST OF DONORS.

| | |
|---|--|
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| | S. Constantine Burke, Assistant-Attorney-General, Jamaica. |

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 G. Molineux, Esq.
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 A. R. Campbell-Johnston, Esq.
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 Captain J. C. R. Colomb, R.M.A.
 J. S. O'Halloran, Esq.
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 Messrs. M'Kinley, Melbourne.
 H. H. Hayter, Esq., Government Statist, Melbourne.
 Captain J. Domville, M.P., New Brunswick.
 Samuel Deering, Esq., Assistant-Agent-General for South Australia.
 Alexander Murray, Esq., C.M.G., Newfoundland.
 James H. C. McGibbon, Esq., Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens, Cape of Good Hope.
 The McGill University, Montreal.
 „ Royal Geographical Society.
 „ Royal United Service Institution.
 „ Anthropological Institute.
 „ Victoria Institute.
 „ East India Association.
 „ Meteorological Society.
 „ Canadian Institute, Toronto.
 „ Cape Town Chamber of Commerce.
 „ Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce.
 „ Natal Chamber of Commerce.
 „ The Royal Society of New South Wales.
 „ Royal Society of Tasmania.
 „ Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.
 „ Netherland Society.

The Aborigines Friends Association, South Australia.
 The Editor of the *Diplomatic Review*.

The Governments of—
 The Dominion of Canada.
 Ontario.
 Quebec.
 British Columbia.
 South Australia.
 Queensland.
 Tasmania.
 New Zealand.
 Cape of Good Hope.
 Natal.
 British Guiana.
 Ceylon.

The Educational Department of the Province of Ontario.

The Agent-Gen. for New South Wales.
 „ „ „ Victoria.
 „ „ „ South Australia.
 „ „ „ Queensland.
 „ „ „ New Zealand.

The Crown Agents for the Colonies.

Also files of papers from the Proprietors of the—

Argus and Australian.
 Sydney Morning Herald.
 Sydney Echo.
 Border Post.
 Kapunda Herald.
 Hobart Town Mercury.
 Otago Guardian.
 Southern Mercury.
 Yass Courier.
 Fiji Times.
 Toronto Mail.
 Montreal Daily Witness.
 Manitoba Standard.
 Weekly British Colonist, British Columbia.
 Newfoundland North Star.
 Observer, Port Elizabeth.
 Eastern Star, Grahamstown.
 Beaufort Courier.
 Fort Beaufort Advocate.
 Transvaal Argus.
 Friend of the Free State, Orange Free State.
 Natal Mercury.
 Natal Witness.
 Royal Gazette, Demerara.
 Colonist, Demerara.
 Demerara Times.
 Nassau Times.
 Barbados Globe.
 Trinidad Chronicle.
 Malta Public Opinion.
 Colonies.
 Timber Trades Journal.
 &c. &c. &c.

The PRESIDENT moved the adoption of the Report.

Colonel ALCOCK: My Lord Duke,—This Report, which must be very satisfactory to everyone present, is, I think, of peculiar importance at the present time, and that for reasons which, in seconding the resolution, I will ask permission to bring to the notice of the meeting. With that object, I will refer to the first and the last paragraphs. The first paragraph mentions the increasing influence of the Institute—a proof that Colonial subjects are beginning to assume the importance they deserve, and which was much required, as pointed out by a lady in one of our recent discussions, who said that a lamentable want of knowledge of such subjects prevailed; hence the great value of this Institute by which they become more generally known and appreciated, for it is quite evident that upon such intricate subjects as those of our Foreign Policy and our Imperial Interests, public opinion cannot be formed, still less changed, from old habits of thought, as rapidly as a sudden change in the course of events may require. The character of the papers and discussions referred to in the Report are calculated to remove that defect, and in the proportion in which we are able to foresee we are able to prepare. According to the general opinion of past times, we are more committed to the affairs of Continental kingdoms than may be the case under the new conditions which arise; in fact, we may find that we shall have less to do with the internal affairs of those countries and more to do with the external—that is the Colonial—affairs of our own. It may be that the public has not yet appreciated the great importance of the business which we should have in hand for ourselves, and which affects the welfare of so large a portion of the human race. The concluding paragraph mentions the whole British Empire in a sense which I understand to mean that a certain responsibility falls upon every person wherever he may be; that all have a common impulse, a common purpose, a common activity, accompanied, of course, by a common responsibility and risk, that is, in one word, *solidarité*—the Imperial *solidarité* of our race. Now the different States of which our Empire is formed are widely set apart, and the number of men available as professional soldiers much limited by their civil occupations. Great events, political and military, have taken place, and greater still may arise. The progress of science has increased the uncertainties of war—the progress of events, the uncertainties of alliance. We must therefore be prepared for such a case as that of finding that our enemies are many, while our friends are few. We are all in the habit of applying old rules to a new state of things,

preconceived ideas to a new situation, and hence we may not as yet have sufficiently considered the necessity for any new and more comprehensive system of warlike preparation for defence, or of the latent power which we possess in what would prove, if developed, our great confederate strength, or to use the last words of the Report, "our permanent union as one nationality."

The Report was then adopted.

The HONORARY TREASURER (W. C. Sargeaunt, Esq., C.M.G.) then presented his Annual Report of the financial position of the Institute, which is as follows:—

1876-1877.

Royal Colonial Institute.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR COMMENCING 12TH JUNE, 1876, AND ENDING 11TH JUNE, 1877.

| RECEIPTS. | | PAYMENTS. | |
|---|------------|--|-------------|
| | £ s. d. | | £ s. d. |
| Balance, as per last Account | 474 3 4 | Rent, &c., No. 15, Strand, to 25th March, 1877 | 238 0 0 |
| 3 Life Subscriptions of £20 | £60 0 0 | Printing | 220 1 2 |
| 2 " " £13 | 26 0 0 | Reports of Meetings sent to Fellows | 40 11 5 |
| 11 " " £10 | 110 0 0 | Reverting Meetings | 44 5 8 |
| 37 Entrance Fees of £3 | 111 0 0 | Advertising Meetings, Newspapers, &c. | 93 10 6 |
| 299 Subscriptions of £2 | 598 0 0 | Amount handed over to Honorary Secretary to meet Disbursements made by him | 40 12 10 |
| 1 Subscription of £2 2s. | 2 2 0 | Amount handed over to Museum Committee in aid of Expenses | 50 14 0 |
| 235 Subscriptions of £1 1s. | 246 15 0 | Contributions to Guest Dinner Fund | 360 0 0 |
| 5 " " £1 | 5 0 0 | Refreshments supplied at Conversations | 25 0 0 |
| 1 Subscription of 19s. | 0 19 0 | Floral Decorations at Conversations | 26 0 0 |
| | 1,159 16 0 | Attendance of Band at Conversations | |
| 12 months' Dividend on £500 Victoria 5 per cent. Debentures (less Income Tax) | £24 13 9 | Use of South Kensington Museum, and Attendance at Conversations | 23 8 6 |
| 12 months' Dividend on £100 Canada 5 per cent. Debenture (less Income Tax) | 4 18 10 | Printing connected with Conversations | 7 19 4 |
| 12 months' Dividend on £100 New Zealand 5 per cent. Consols (less Income Tax) | 4 19 0 | Gratuities | 183 7 10 |
| 12 months' Dividend on £300 Cape of Good Hope 4½ per cent. Debentures (less Income Tax) | 18 6 8 | Subscription paid in error refunded | 30 0 0 |
| 12 months' Dividend on £200 South Australian 4 per cent. Debentures (less Income Tax) | 7 18 0 | Incidental, Cheque Book, &c. | 1 1 0 |
| | 55 16 3 | | 0 9 5 |
| Amount received in connection with the Conversations | 72 5 0 | Balance in hand, 11th June, 1877 | 1,362 13 10 |
| Proceeds of Sale of Papers &c. | 7 6 0 | | 416 12 9 |
| | £1,760 6 7 | | |

Notes.

SECURITIES HELD.

| | |
|--|--------|
| Victoria Government 5 per cent. Debentures | £500 |
| Canada 5 per cent. Debentures | 100 |
| New Zealand 5 per cent. Consols | 100 |
| Cape of Good Hope 4½ per cent. Debentures | 300 |
| South Australian 4 per cent. Debentures | 200 |
| | <hr/> |
| | £1,200 |

June 12th, 1877.

W. C. SARGEAUNT,
Honorary Treasurer.

ANALYSIS OF HONORARY SECRETARY'S DISBURSEMENTS FROM 12TH JUNE, 1876, TO 11TH JUNE, 1877.

| RECEIPTS. | | CLASSIFICATION. PARTICULARS OF DISBURSEMENTS, &c. | |
|--|---------|---|-----------|
| | £ s. d. | | £ s. d. |
| Balance, as per last account | 23 3 6 | (1) Salaries | 179 12 0 |
| Cash received from Honorary Treasurer to meet Dis- | | (2) Domestic | |
| burements | 360 0 0 | Housekeeper for care of Rooms | |
| | | Cowels, &c. | 39 14 11 |
| | | (3) Furniture and | |
| | | Books. | 7 19 11 |
| | | (4) Postages | 88 16 8 |
| | | (5) Miscellaneous { Postages, &c. | |
| | | Expenses of Meetings, Adver- | |
| | | tising, Newspapers, &c. | 62 8 4 |
| | | | <hr/> |
| | | Balance in hand, 11th June, 1877 | 378 11 10 |
| | | | 3 11 7 |
| | | | <hr/> |
| | | | £382 3 5 |

WM. WESTGARTH, } Auditors.
G. MOLINEUX, }

FREDERICK YOUNG,
Honorary Secretary.

15, Strand, June 22nd, 1877.

The adoption of the Honorary Treasurer's statement was proposed by Mr. FREELAND, and seconded by Mr. MOLINEUX. Some discussion took place on the subject of outstanding subscriptions.

Mr. YOUNG said that, although the expenditure had slightly increased, not a single penny had been spent that could be avoided. One of the items of exceptional expenditure was £49 odd, spent in agitating (if he might use that phrase) to secure a Colonial Museum, and, considering its importance, the money had been well laid out. He explained that the total amount of subscriptions in arrear, including Resident and Non-Resident Fellows, was £571.

Mr. LABILLIERE remarked that considering this was only the month of June, it might reasonably be expected that before the end of the year the number of Non-Resident Fellows in arrear would be considerably reduced.

Dr. RAE gave it as his experience in connection with several other Societies, that the position of the Royal Colonial Institute with regard to the proportion of subscriptions in arrear was by no means exceptional.

Mr. FREELAND suggested that if the Fellows of the Institute would only remind their friends who are in arrear, they might more promptly send in their subscriptions.

Mr. YOUNG reminded the meeting that the Treasurer's statement only took into account cash payments which had been actually made, so that if the £571 in arrear were paid, the financial condition of the Institute would present a much more flourishing appearance.

After some further observations from Messrs. H. B. T. STRANGWAYS, G. R. GODSON, &c. the Treasurer's statement was unanimously approved, and a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. W. C. Sargeaunt accorded.

The HONORARY SECRETARY (Frederick Young, Esq.) then brought before the Meeting the further alterations in the Rules recommended by the Council, in addition to those adopted at the last Annual Meeting, which, having been duly considered, the following resolution was moved by Mr. STRANGWAYS, and seconded by Captain J. C. R. COLOMB, R.M.A. :—

“That the new code of Rules now submitted to the Meeting be adopted as the Rules of the Royal Colonial Institute in lieu of those hitherto in force.”

Mr. STRANGWAYS explained the principal alterations proposed, which were to the following effect :—

Chapter 8, after clause 6, insert new clauses as follows : “All Committees shall be appointed by the Council.” “No act, order, or resolution of any Committee shall bind the Institute, unless it

be done or made by the direction and authority of the Council or be ratified by them." "It shall be competent for the Council to invite the co-operation of persons not Fellows of the Institute, but who have special knowledge of any particular subject, and to place such persons on any Committee which may be appointed."

Chapter 5, strike out clauses 3 and 4, and insert new clause as follows: "The business of this Meeting shall be to elect the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, to receive the Annual Report of the Council, to hear the President's Address, and to consider such business as shall be brought forward by the Council or with the sanction of the Council, and which shall have been stated in the notice convening such Meeting."

Chapter 8, after clause 3, insert new clauses as follows: "Any Resident Fellow absent from the United Kingdom for the whole of any calendar year shall be liable to pay the Non-Resident Fellow's subscription of One Guinea only if he shall have given notice in writing to the Secretary of his intended absence." "Any Non-Resident Fellow being in the United Kingdom for the whole of any calendar year shall pay for such year the Resident Fellows' subscription of Two Pounds."

Chapter 1, clause 4, line 4, after "year" insert "in rotation," and add to the end of the clause "as hereinafter provided."

Chapter 1, after clause 4 insert new clause as follows: "If any Councillor shall fail to attend the Meetings of the Council for six consecutive calendar months, except by leave of the Council, the office of such Councillor shall thereupon become vacant."

The resolution was unanimously carried, the alterations being accepted as proposed by the Council.

At the termination of the hour at present required by Rule 6, Chapter 5, for the ballot to remain open, the scrutineers reported the following result, the undermentioned noblemen and gentlemen being the governing body of the Institute for the ensuing year :—

PRESIDENT.—His Grace the Duke of Manchester, K.P.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

His Royal Highness the Prince Christian, K.G.

His Grace the Duke of Argyll, K.G.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, G.C.S.I.

The Most Noble the Marquis of Normanby, G.C.M.G.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Carnarvon.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Dufferin, K.P., K.C.B., G.C.M.G.

The Rt. Hon. the Earl Granville, K.G.

The Rt. Hon. Visct. Bury, K.C.M.G.

The Right Hon. Lord Carlingford.

The Right Hon. Sir Stafford H. Northcote, Bart., C.B., M.P.

The Right Hon. Gathorne Hardy, M.P.

The Right Hon. Stephen Cave, M.P.

The Right Hon. Viscount Monk, G.C.M.G.

The Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P.

Sir Richard Graves Macdonnell, K.C.M.G., C.B.

Edward Wilson, Esq.

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

Sir Henry Barkly, K.C.B., G.C.M.G.
 Henry Blaine, Esq.
 Sir Charles Clifford.
 Major-General Sir H. C. B. Daubeney,
 K.C.B.
 H. W. Freeland, Esq.
 A. R. Campbell-Johnston, Esq.
 H. J. Jourdain, Esq.
 F. P. Labilliere, Esq.
 Sir George Macleay, K.C.M.G.
 Gisborne Molineux, Esq.
 Jacob Montefiore, Esq.
 H. E. Montgomerie, Esq.

Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart.
 Alexander Rivington, Esq.
 S. W. Silver, Esq.
 Sir Charles E. F. Stirling, Bart.
 H. B. T. Strangways, Esq.
 J. Duncan Thomson, Esq.
 Sir Robert R. Torrens, K.C.M.G.
 William Walker, Esq.
 Sir Charles Wingfield, K.C.S.I.,
 O.B.
 J. Dennistoun Wood, Esq.
 Leonard Wray, Esq.
 James A. Youl, Esq., C.M.G.

TRUSTEES.

Sir John Rose, Bart., K.C.M.G.

Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M.P.

James Searight, Esq.

HON. TREASURER.

W. C. Sargeant, Esq., C.M.G.

HON. SECRETARY.

Frederick Young, Esq.

A vote of thanks to the President was proposed by Sir CHARLES CLIFFORD, as follows :—

Your Grace and Gentlemen,—The Report which has just been read, the speeches you have heard, and the numerous meetings you have attended during the past season, will have made you aware of the great attention which has been drawn to the Royal Colonial Institute, not only in Great Britain, but throughout our Colonial Empire ; and consequently of the increasing influence it can bring to bear upon the large Colonial interests it has been formed to foster and protect. There is no doubt that a great want has been supplied, but I may be allowed to say that one great reason of the rapid development and success of the Society has been, that we are fortunate enough to have secured for our President one so well known in social and political circles, not only in England but throughout the Colonies, as His Grace the Duke of Manchester. All who know him are well aware that he would never condescend to be used, if I may be allowed to quote a common expression, as a mere ornamental figure-head. He brings to bear, on whatever business he takes in hand, not only a clear intellect, but sound common-sense ideas of business which insures the successful working of the staff under him. Knowing how you appreciate the manner in which His Grace has heretofore filled the office of President of this important Society, and how anxious you are that he should again accept the post for the ensuing year, I beg to move, “ That the cordial thanks of the Fellows be given to His Grace the Duke of Manchester for the ability and uniform

courtesy with which he has filled the office of President for the past year."

Colonel ALCOCK: I hope that I shall not be thought to be presumptuous in offering myself as the seconder of this resolution. I have already made some remarks upon the Report, and upon what has been so clearly and forcibly said by Sir Charles Clifford it would not be in my power to dilate; but I may add, what I have no doubt will entirely coincide with the feelings of this meeting, that we all feel ourselves most fortunate in having His Grace the Duke of Manchester at our head.

The vote of thanks was cordially adopted.

His Grace the PRESIDENT, in reply, said, after thanking Sir Charles Clifford and the members, that it gave him great satisfaction to be assured that he had, in however small a degree, contributed to the success of the Institute, which had been great in creating the better appreciation in England of the importance of the Colonies. He referred also to the Newfoundland Fisheries Question, in respect of which, though they had not succeeded in effecting all they had desired, they had, he believed, done good service and got some improvement. Then they had been promoting the formation of the Colonial Museum, an object very interesting and useful. But another question, brought before them by Captain Colomb in his able paper, was of supreme importance, viz. the Defence of the Colonies. He hoped the Institute might be able to assist at an understanding on this question, and ultimately on Imperial Federation.

It was proposed by Captain COLOMB, and seconded by Mr. MOLINEUX, that a most cordial vote of thanks be given to the Honorary Secretary, Frederick Young, Esq., for the energetic and efficient manner in which he has conducted the multifarious duties of his office during the past year, by which the progress and usefulness of the Institute have been so considerably increased; and also to F. P. Labilliere, Esq., a member of the Council who assists the Honorary Secretary, for the kind and efficient aid he has given in furtherance of the objects of the Institute.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG, in reply, said he had much pleasure in acknowledging the compliment which had been paid to him. It would, of course, be affectation if he were to say that he did not devote a good deal of time and attention to the affairs of the Institute; but he had long been so thoroughly persuaded of the important part which it is calculated to take in connection with the future interests of our great Colonial Empire, that he had willingly accepted those duties, which many persons in his own

position might perhaps have hesitated to undertake, and thrown himself warmly into their performance. He assured the meeting that it was extremely gratifying to him to feel that his efforts were so kindly appreciated by those with whom he was associated in this patriotic work.

Mr. LABILLIERE heartily thanked the Fellows for the kindness with which they had expressed themselves in respect of the help he had been able to give in conducting the affairs of the Institute. He assured them that whatever he had been able to do was a labour of love. When he first came to England from the Colonies he felt the great want of some society or centre for colonists from the various quarters of the Empire ; but no one then seemed to know what form to give such an institution, or had any idea that one could so soon come into existence and assume the proportions already attained by this Institute. At length, however, it was established, and he (Mr. Labilliere) was elected a Fellow at the very first meeting after it was constituted, feeling that the great want had been supplied, and that the only question was that the Institute should be started upon the right lines. He believed it was now firmly advancing upon them, and that its complete success was thoroughly assured.

The proceedings then terminated.

THE
ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

R U L E S .

1877.

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THE
ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

RULES.

OBJECTS AND CONSTITUTION.

1. THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE is established to provide a place of meeting for all Gentlemen connected with the Colonies and British India, and others taking an interest in Colonial and Indian affairs; to establish a Reading-room and a Library, in which recent and authentic intelligence upon Colonial and Indian subjects may be constantly available, and a Museum for the collection and exhibition of Colonial and Indian productions; to facilitate interchange of experiences amongst persons representing all the Dependencies of Great Britain; to afford opportunities for the reading of Papers, and for holding discussions upon Colonial and Indian subjects generally; and to undertake scientific, literary, and statistical investigations in connection with the British Empire. But no Paper shall be read, nor any discussion be permitted to take place, tending to give to the Institute a party character.

2. The Institute consists of Resident, Non-Resident, and Honorary Fellows.

3. The Institute shall not make or distribute any gift, dividend, division, or bonus, in money, unto or between any of its Fellows.

4. The government of the Institute, and the management of all its concerns, are entrusted to the Council, subject to the Rules of the Institute.

5. Every Resident Fellow shall be eligible to fill any of the offices in the Council.

6. The Council shall be chosen from the Resident Fellows, and shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents (not exceeding twenty), four Trustees, twenty-four Councillors, a Treasurer (who shall also be, *ex-officio*, a Trustee), and a Secretary (when honorary). The Council shall have power to fill up any vacancies occurring in the above offices during the interval between the annual meetings; such *ad interim* appointments to be subject to confirmation at the next succeeding Annual Meeting.

7. A portion of the Council shall retire periodically, but be eligible for re-election, viz. the President every second year, and one-fourth of the Vice-Presidents and one-fourth of the Councillors every year in rotation; the names of those so retiring to be previously announced by the Council, as hereinafter provided.

8. If any Councillor shall fail to attend the Meetings of the Council for six consecutive calendar months, except by leave of the Council, the office of such Councillor shall thereupon become vacant.

ADMISSION, &c. OF FELLOWS.

9. Every gentleman desirous of admission into the Institute as a Fellow must be proposed and recommended according to the form No. 1 in the Appendix hereto; and such recommendation must be subscribed by two Fellows at least, one of whom must certify his personal knowledge and approval of such candidate.

10. The certificate thus filled up shall be delivered to the Secretary, and shall be exhibited in a conspicuous place in the Rooms of the Institute, for at least one week previous to election, in order that any Fellow objecting to the Candidate may communicate with the Council thereon.

11. The election of Fellows is entrusted to the Council, and the names of those so elected shall be regularly announced from the chair at each Ordinary Meeting.

12. Notice of Election shall be sent within three days to every newly-elected Fellow, together with a copy of the Rules of the Institute, and a list of the Fellows. But no election of a Fellow shall be complete, neither shall the name of any person so elected be printed in any list of the Institute, nor shall he be entitled to exercise any of the privileges of a Fellow, until he shall have paid his admission fee and first year's subscription,

or compounded for the same as hereinafter provided for; and unless these payments be made within three calendar months from the date of election, such election shall be void; this time may, however, be extended at the discretion of the Council.

13. Gentlemen resident in the Colonies or India may be elected as Non-Resident Fellows in the same manner as Resident Fellows, but they shall not be required to pay any admission fee. Should any such Non-Resident Fellow come to the United Kingdom to reside, he may, on payment of the usual admission fee, become a Resident Fellow of the Institute.

14. The Council shall have the power of appointing as Honorary Fellows, Foreigners or Colonists of distinction, or other persons, whose association with the Institute may be considered advantageous; but such Honorary Fellows shall not be entitled to vote nor fill any office in the Institute.

15. Any Fellow may withdraw from the Institute by signifying his wish to do so by letter, addressed to the Secretary at the rooms of the Institute; provided always that such Fellow shall continue to be liable for his annual subscription for the year in which he signifies his wish to withdraw. He shall further continue liable for such annual subscription until he shall have discharged all sums, if any, due by him to the Institute, and shall have returned all books or other property borrowed by him of the Institute; or shall have made full compensation for the same, if lost, or not forthcoming.

16. Whensoever there shall appear to be cause for the expulsion of any Fellow of the Institute, the subject shall be laid before the Council, and if a majority of the Council shall, after due deliberation, determine by ballot to propose to the Institute the expulsion of such Fellow, the President shall in that case at a Special Meeting of the Institute summoned for that purpose, announce from the chair such determination of the Council. The Meeting shall thereupon proceed to determine the question by ballot, and on its appearing that two-thirds of the Fellows present have voted for the expulsion of the said Fellow, the President shall proceed to cancel his name in the Register.

FEEES AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

17. Every Resident Fellow shall, on his election, be required to pay Three Pounds as his admission fee, and Two Pounds as his annual subscription for the year ending on the 31st December then

next ensuing; or he may compound for his annual subscription, either at his entrance by the payment of Twenty Pounds, or after the payment of five or more annual subscriptions, by the payment of Fifteen Pounds.

18. The annual subscription of a Non-Resident Fellow shall be One Guinea, but he may compound for such subscription by the payment of Ten Pounds. Any Non-Resident Fellow who shall have become a Resident Fellow and wish to compound, may do so by the payment of Twenty Pounds, or, if he shall have compounded as a Non-Resident Fellow, by the payment of the same sum as would have been required from a Resident Fellow, deducting the amount already paid on his compounding as a Non-Resident Fellow.

19. Any Resident Fellow absent from the United Kingdom for the whole of any calendar year, shall be liable to pay the Non-Resident Fellows' subscription of One Guinea only, if he shall have given notice in writing to the Secretary of his intended absence.

20. Any Non-Resident Fellow being in the United Kingdom for the whole of any calendar year, shall pay for every such year after the first the Resident Fellows' subscription of Two Pounds.

21. All subscriptions shall be due and payable on the 1st of January in each year.

22. No Fellow shall be entitled to vote or enjoy any other privilege of the Institute so long as he shall continue in arrear. Honorary Fellows are not required to make any payments. The amount of Annual Subscription to be paid by Fellows absent from England, or joining late in the year, or for a limited time, may be varied by the Council.

23. So soon in every year as the Auditors shall have completed their financial investigation, the name of every Fellow in arrear to the Institute, together with a statement of the arrear, shall be reported to the Council, and immediate notice of the same, with an account of such arrear, shall be forwarded to every Fellow whose name shall have been so reported. If the arrear be not paid within one calendar month, or, in the case of a Non-Resident Fellow within twelve months, from the date of such notice, or within such further time as the Council may grant upon special cause to them shown, the name of the Fellow so reported, together with a statement of the arrear, shall be suspended in the Rooms of the Institute. If the arrear shall not have been discharged before the second Ordinary General Meeting after such suspension, the Council shall be empowered to remove such Fellow from

the Institute; and the name of the Fellow which has been so suspended shall not be taken down until the arrear shall have been paid, or the Fellow shall have been removed from the Institute.

COUNCIL.

24. The President, two Vice-Presidents, or any four Councillors, may at any time call a Special Meeting of the Council, and when such Meeting is to be held, every Member of the Council residing in the United Kingdom shall be summoned by notice specifying the object thereof.

25. In all Meetings of the Council five shall be a quorum; and all questions shall be decided by open vote, unless a ballot be demanded by any three Fellows present.

26. Minutes of the proceedings of every Meeting of the Council shall be taken during their progress, in a rough book, by the Secretary, or in case of his absence, by a Fellow present, whom the President or Chairman shall appoint for the occasion; they shall be afterwards copied into a fair Minute-book to be kept for that purpose, read at the next Meeting of the Council, and when confirmed, signed by the President or Chairman.

27. The Accounts of the Institute shall be from time to time examined by the Council, who shall present and cause to be read to the Annual Meeting a complete statement thereof, together with a report on the general affairs of the Institute during the preceding year.

28. The Council shall, from time to time, publish the proceedings and transactions of the Institute, and accompany them with maps, papers, and other matter, as occasion may require.

29. Each Fellow shall be entitled to a copy of the publications of the Institute; but the mode of distribution shall be decided by the Council.

30. The Council shall, so soon as convenient, establish a Library, Reading-room, and Museum, to which all Fellows, and strangers provided with an order from a Fellow, shall be admitted, under such restrictions as may appear to the Council necessary.

31. The Council may appoint persons, not being Members of the Council, to be salaried Officers, Clerks, or Servants, for carrying on the necessary concerns of the Institute, and may define the duties to be performed by them respectively; and may allow to them respectively such salaries, gratuities, and privileges as to them, the Council, may seem proper; and may suspend or discharge any

Officer, Clerk, or Servant from office, whenever there shall seem to them occasion for so doing.

82. The Council may appoint in any Colony or Dependency of the British Empire, one or more Fellows as Corresponding Secretary or Secretaries.

COMMITTEES.

83. There shall be three permanent working Committees of Council, namely: 1st, Finance and House; 2nd, Library and Museum; 3rd, Papers and Publications.

84. Twice at least in each year a Committee of the Council shall examine, in detail, the state of the Household, the Secretary's department, and the degree of care displayed in keeping the Official Books, the Library, the Museum, &c.

85. The Council may refer particular subjects to Committees, and such Committees shall report to the Council the result of their proceedings. The President and Secretary (when honorary) shall, *ex officio*, be Members of all such Committees.

86. All Committees shall be appointed by the Council.

87. No act, order, or resolution of any Committee shall bind the Institute unless it be done or made by the direction and authority of the Council, or be ratified by them.

88. It shall be competent for the Council to invite the co-operation of persons, not Fellows of the Institute, but who have special knowledge of any particular subject, and to place such persons on any Committee which may be appointed.

PRESIDENT.

89. The President is Chairman of the Council and of all Meetings of the Fellows. One of the Vice-Presidents, or one of the Members of the Council, shall supply the place of the President when he is absent.

90. It is the President's duty to carry out the Rules of the Institute, to see that all the Officers of the Institute, and Members of the Council and of Committees, perform the duties assigned to or undertaken by them respectively; to call for Reports and Accounts from Committees and persons; to cause of his own authority, and when necessary, Special Meetings of the Council and of the Committees to be summoned; and to propose, from time to time, to the Council such measures as shall appear to him conducive to the welfare of the Institute.

41. It is his duty, conjointly with the Council, to consider and resolve on the names of Fellows who are to be recommended at the Annual Meeting to fill up all vacant offices.

42. When prevented from being present at the Meetings of the Fellows or Council, or from otherwise attending to the current business of the Institute, he will be expected to give timely notice thereof to one of the Vice-Presidents, or, in their absence, to some other Member of the Council, or to the Secretary, in order that his place may be properly supplied.

43. The President, or, in his absence, the Chairman for the time being, shall have power to rule and regulate the discussions arising at any Meeting of the Institute.

44. In all Meetings of the Institute and Council, except in the cases otherwise provided for, the decision of a majority of the Fellows voting shall be considered as a decision of the Meeting, the President or Chairman having a casting vote, in addition to his own vote.

TREASURER.

45. The Treasurer is *ex officio* one of the Trustees of the Institute; and the funds of the Institute shall be vested in his name and in those of the other four Trustees.

46. The Treasurer has special charge of all Accounts, and shall see to the collection of all sums of money due to the Institute, which, when received, shall be immediately paid to the Bankers of the Institute.

47. In concert with the Secretary, the Treasurer shall keep a list of the Fellows of the Institute, with the name and address of each accurately set forth, which List, with all Books of Account, shall be laid on the table at every Ordinary Meeting of the Council.

48. He shall pay all accounts due by the Institute, as soon as they have been examined and approved by the Council. But no drafts on its Bankers shall be payable unless signed by two of the Council and countersigned by the Secretary; and the accounts of the Treasurer shall be annually audited by two Fellows, one selected from the general body of the Fellows and one from the Council, proposed by the President or Chairman, and approved by the first Ordinary Meeting held after the 1st of January.

ORDINARY MEETINGS.

49. The Ordinary Meetings shall be held on such evenings, and at such hour, as may from time to time be fixed by the Council.

50. Visitors, if introduced by Fellows, may be present at the Ordinary Meetings, such privilege of introducing Visitors being limited to one only for each Fellow; but should a Fellow desire to introduce a second visitor, he can obtain from the Secretary a special card of admission.

51. At the Ordinary Meetings the order of proceedings shall be as follows :

A. The Minutes of the last Meeting to be read, and, if their accuracy be not questioned by the Meeting, to be signed by the President or Chairman.

B. Election of Candidates to be announced.

C. Papers and Communications to be read and discussed.

52. At the Ordinary Meetings of the Institute nothing relating to its Rules or Management, except as regards the election of Fellows, shall be brought forward, unless the same shall have been announced in the notice calling the Meeting, or be otherwise provided for in these Rules. But the Minute-book of the Council shall be on the table at each Meeting, and extracts therefrom may be read to the Meeting on the requisition of any Fellow.

53. No Paper shall be read at any Ordinary Meeting of the Institute unless it shall have been approved of by the Council or by the Committee on Papers and Publications ; but this approval shall not be taken as expressing an opinion upon the statements made, or the arguments used in such Paper.

SPECIAL MEETINGS.

54. The Council may at any time call a Special General Meeting of the Institute, and it shall be imperative on the Council to summon such Meeting, whenever required in writing so to do, by at least twenty-five Fellows of the Institute.

55. A week's notice at least of the time when, and the object for which, every Special Meeting is to be holden, shall be sent to every Resident Fellow; and no other business than that of which notice has been thus given shall be entered upon or discussed at such Meeting.

56. A Special General Meeting, convened as herein provided, may be holden on any one of the days appointed for the Ordinary General Meetings, in which case the special business shall be entered upon immediately after the ordinary business of the day is closed.

57. Thirty Fellows must be present to constitute a Special General Meeting.

ANNUAL MEETING.

58. The Annual Meeting shall be held in the month of June.

59. Notice of this Meeting shall be sent to every Resident Fellow whose address is known, and shall be inserted in two or more newspapers, one week at least before the day of Meeting.

60. The business of this Meeting shall be to elect the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, to receive the Annual Report of the Council, to hear the President's Address, and to consider such business as shall be brought forward by the Council or with the sanction of the Council, and which shall have been stated in the notice convening such Meeting.

61. It being required to make certain annual changes in the Council, as before specified, a sufficient number of printed balloting lists, according to the Form No. 2 in the Appendix, shall be prepared previously to the Meeting. One of these balloting lists shall be sent to each Resident Fellow, with the notice of the Annual Meeting.

62. The chair shall be taken at the hour appointed in the notice of the Meeting, or as soon thereafter as twenty Fellows shall be present, whereupon the Chairman shall appoint two or more Scrutineers from among the Fellows present, to superintend the ballot during its progress, and when it is closed, to examine the lists and report the result to the Meeting.

63. Each Fellow voting shall deliver his balloting list, folded up, to one of the Scrutineers, who shall immediately put it into the balloting-box.

64. The ballot shall close when half an hour shall have elapsed from the time of the Chairman taking the chair. The Scrutineers shall then report the number of votes for each person to the Chairman, who shall declare the persons on whom the election has fallen.

ALTERATION OF RULES.

65. Any alteration in these Rules, recommended by the Council, may be proposed at the Annual Meeting, or may be submitted at any Ordinary Meeting, notice thereof having been given under the provisions of Clause 52, provided that such proposed alteration shall have been exhibited in a conspicuous place in the Rooms of the Institute, for at least one calendar month previous to the Meeting at which it shall be submitted.

66. Any twenty-five Fellows may propose to the Council any new Rule, or the alteration or repeal of any existing Rule, by letter addressed to the Secretary; and, if dissatisfied with the answer of the Council, they may require that their proposition be referred to a Special General Meeting, which the Council shall convene for that purpose, within one calendar month after receiving such requisition.

67. No repeal or alteration of any of these Rules, nor addition thereto, shall be considered valid, unless concurred in by three-fourths of the Fellows present and voting in each case.

APPENDIX.

No. 1. FORM OF CANDIDATE'S CERTIFICATE.

CERTIFICATE OF CANDIDATE FOR ELECTION.

Name

Title

Residence

being desirous of admission into the ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE,
we, the undersigned, recommend him as eligible for Membership.

Dated this

day of

, 18

} from personal knowledge.

Proposed

18

Elected

18

No. 2. FORM OF BALLOTING LIST.

ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE. BALLOTING LIST FOR THE COUNCIL.

| Offices. | Present Council. | Fellows changing office or going out of the Council. | List proposed for election by the Council. | Names substituted by any Fellow. |
|----------|------------------|--|--|----------------------------------|
| | | | | |

NOTE.—If any Fellow desires to alter the list proposed by the Council, he must erase the names he proposes to omit, and enter those he desires to substitute for them in the last column.

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